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A Letter to Dr. Shebbeare, Printed in the Public Ledcer, Auguft io: TOGETHEP. WITH ANIMADVERSIONS on TWO S'PEECHES

In Defence of the Printers of A PAPER, fubfrribed a SOUTH BRITON.

The First pronounced by The Right Hon. THOMAS TOWNSHEND, in the Houfe of Commons, And printed in the London Packet of February 18.

The Second by
The Right Learned Counfellor LEE, in Guildiall, And printed in the Public Ledger of Auguf 12.
In the Examination of which a Comparifon naturally arifes between the public and private Virtues of Their Prefent Majefties, and thofe of King William and Queen Mary. The Merits, alfo, of Roman Catholics, and of Diffenters from the Church of England, refpecting Allegiance and Liberty, and their Claims to National Protection, are fairly flated, from their paft and prefent Tranfactions.

By J. SHEBBEARE, $M$ : $D$.
Falfus honor juvat, et mendax infamia terret Quem nifi mendofum et mendacem.

Hor.
LO N D O N:
Printed for S. Hooper, at No. 25, Ludgate. Hill; and T. Davies, in Ruffel-Street, Covent-Garden.
[ Price Two Shillings and Sixpence.]

## A N <br> A N S W E R <br> TOTHE

## Q U E R I E S, $\bigodot^{\circ} c$.

THERE are few propenfities more prevalent among the individuals of human kind, whofe tranfactions have been the leaft removed from the moft common that can happen, than a perfuafion that the daily occurrences of their lives are of fo interelling a kind, as to be highly deferving the attention of the public. This opinon of their importance chiefly arifes from the partiality of felflove. Each of them not only obferves, with a depreciating eye, the actions of other men; but beholds, in a too favourable afpect, his own alfo. From this origin have fprung the numerous memoirs and lives which have been obtruded on the world, not only by men who have been their own biographers; but by fuch alio who have applied, to the talents of others, through a confcious deficiency in their own. The motive of my appearing tefore the public, on this occafion,
arifes not from that caule, but from the defire of not being deemed more culpable than I am; and of defending myfelf from fuch calumny, as no nian, the leaft lufceptible of the emotions of an honeft heart, can fuffer to remain unanfwered, without being juftly charged, either with an unpardonable inienfibility to the claims of character; or with an impoffibility of obviating the accufations which are laid againft him. For although no man of fenfe will think it either neceffary, or even prudent, to reply to the obloquy and invectives of anonymons writers, who may have defamed him by a relation of circumftances that never exifted; by mifreprefentations of thofe which have, when they, are not of an immoral nature, and of no concern to the public; yet does it fometimes happen, although the accufer withhold his name, that the facts on which he grounds his accufations may be incontrovertible, notwithltanding the manner, in which they are reprefented, imparts a falfehood to all that he relates; and the nature of them may be fo criminal, that to abftain from attempting a refutation, would be juftly confidered as a conceffion to their truth ${ }_{2}$ and adequate to felf-condemnation.

Innumerable are the inftances of the former kind of publications againft me, to which I have never given the leaft reply. Of the latter, there has appeared a paper, in the Public Ledger, of the loth of Auguft, which no man, who is not dead to every laudable fenfation, carn fuffer and remain in filence. The malevolence it contains is directed againft the moft eftimable part of every man's character, his integrity. It is folely on that account that I am induced, in this manner, to make my appeal. And I would wil-
lingly hope, that, on fo interefting an occafion; the vindication of a private man will not be deemed an impertinent obtrufion on the public.

On the 2 gth of July, a paper was printed in the Public L.edger, under the denomination of "a "character of Dr. Shebbeare." In this notable performance, it was faid, that "John Shebbeare " was bred an apothecary, if he had any breeding, " dubbed a doctor of phyfic at a foreign feminary, " where degrees are held in equal eftimation as at " a Scotch univerfity: that is, affes might have, " if affes could bray or pay for them." This, I imagine, is the firft time it has been afferted, that affes are not doctors of phyfic, becaufe they cannot bray. However, from this fpecimen of this writer's wit, fatire, and good manners, may it not be fairly inferred, that he is jufly entitled, by his talents, to the degree of doctor, without being obliged 'to pay' for them. In whatever part of the world I took my degree, I would hope that what I have written in phyfic, has neither difgraced the univerfity from which I received it, nor induced the faculty to pronounce me a novice in my profeffion.

However, " being thus dignified," he fays, "I " fet up for a writer, and received fubferiptions, " to a confiderable amount, for an hiftory of Eng" land, which, to this hour, has never been pub" lifhed." To this part, he fhail receive an anfwer, when I come to examine his paper of the 10th of Augult.

He then lays, I"poured out fuch foul abufe on "the late king, that the miniftry, more loyal " than the prefent, proceeded againf me with " juitice." In this place, I apprehend, this gen-tleman-like writer lies under a miltake. In what did I pour foul abufe on the late king, or on any other

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other perfon? And when he pronounced the miniftry of that king to be more loyal than the prefent, had he forgoten that thefe loyal minifters of George the fecond, when rebellion was in the realm, in one body threatened to defert him, unlefs he difmiffed lord Granville from his fervice, and obtained their end? have the prefent minuttry prefumed to treat their fovereign with an infult fo egregiouny difloyal? have any minitters fince his majefty's acceffion to the throne, facrificed the honour and the welfare of Great Britain to German interefts? have they chained a Britifh fleet in the bay of Gibraltar, whillt thofe of France were uniting, in order to obtain the retreat of a French army, from the confines of Hanover? have they defeated an expedition againf Rocheforte, for the fake of concluding a treaty at Clofter-Seven : or are fuch tranfactions the pronfs of loyalty in this writer's opinion? if they profecuted me with juftice, did I not attone for the offence with a fufficient fuffering? however, he adds, "the doctor, " by this, obtained his end: he received a pu" nifhment, which, to a virtuous characker, would " be worle than death; to him it was difinguifhed "exaltation." Does it not feem to be a fingular conceit of his, that I wrote on purpofe to be punifhed? and, if the punifunent can confticute the crime, I am apprehenfive this ingenious writer will be mightily puzzled to prove that the martyrs, and even the apoftles, whofe punifhments were greater than mine, were not inen of lefs virtuous character than I am. As to my exaltation, it was diftinguifhed enough. And, if that were my end in writing, I obrained it. And fo far am I from a defire of engrolling fuch diftinguifhed exaltation, that I fincerely wifh the writer of this paper, and
the mithe prenilters of $s$ in the him, uns Eervice, miniftry infult fo fince his iced the German et in the ce were French ave they for the ven: or $\gamma$ in this ne with tha fufdoctor, d a pu. , would inguißed fingular be puniftitute $s$ writer partyrs, s were irtuous it was my end I from tation, r, and cf
of another, of the roth of Auguft, may be rewarded according to his deferts; and then he will be equally diftinguifhed and exalted.

Upon this exaltation, it feems, "I became no"t ticed and infolent: ever fupercilious, and now " contemptibly arrogant, affected an air of great"nefs, and frowned difapprobation on kings, " treated Galen with contempt, no longer thought " of fupplying hofpitals with bandiages, but pre" fcribed for the confitution, propoled ftyptics to " heal its wounds, and wifhed, like another Sa" cheverel, to fee my comely portrait grace the " bottom of an old-maid's urinal:" all which being fo prettily told, fo ftrietly decent, and fo important to the public, what pity it is that I cannot acquiefce in the truth of things that would do me fo much honour!

This gentleman-like writer now fays, "the "doctor had his wifh: he became popular; if to " be known for a libeller of the king, and defpifed " as a traducer of the revolution, can be deemed " popularity." Now, it fo happens that I was not accufed of libelling the king, or of traducing the revolution, but of writing a fixth letter to the people of England, and therefore I could neither be found guilty of, nor known for, either of thofe offences: nor did I become popular on thefe, or on any other accounts. And yet, the firf of them, alune, hath fince fufficed to make one man the moft pópular, and the molt fignal patriot of the age. He continues: "and thus, pointed at " by the rabble, difdained by men of fenie, and "execrated by every friend to the family on the "throne, I was a proper fubject for minifters like "the prefent to penfion, to patronize, and to "employ." Among the men of fenfe, will this writer

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writer prefume to count himfelf, who in every line gives demonftration that he muft be eminent among the rabble: or among, the friends of the fambly on the throne, whofe allegiance expired with the late king! if we may judge from his filence relpecting his prefent lovereign, and his farcalm on the minifters?

Thefe minilters, I find, are as reprobate as myfelf. And, as fimiles fimilibus gaudent, I expect they will improve their patronage of me. For can ir be confiftent, either with henour or confcience, to fuffer me to be traduced, as magnificently as if I were a lord of the trealury at leaft, for fo fmall a fum as two hundred a year? if this circumftance be not duly regarded, to be calumniated can no longer be efteemed the inleparable characteriftic of a great man. For their own lakes, thercfore, 1 humbly hope that they will exalt me, not in this writer's way, that I may approach more nearly to their height; and that no further difgrace be brought on their greatinefs, by a liberality of maledjction on a perfon fo inferior as 1 am , both in rank and profit, and fuch as would do honour to a fecondary, if not a prime minitter. As to the affair of my employmert, this gentleman and a multiplicity of others, by their judicious treatment of his majefty and his minifters, the propriety of their reprefentations, the truth of their affertions, the force of sheir arguments, the wit and fatire of their publications have driven the band of penfioners quite out of the fieid; rendered all writing on the fide of adminiftration unneceffary; and produced the very effects which were diametrically oppolite to their intention. Have they not evinced, in a manner that can require no anfwer, that his majefty is an arrant Jacobite, and is now actually preparing to furrender
furrender his crowns, kingdoms, and dominions to the prerender: that in order to facilitate this wonderful revolution, he is now, by all poffible means, endeavouring to bring popery ding dong into this realm; to eftablifh the mafs by bell, book and candle, and within fix weeks to rekindle the fires in Smithfield; that the archbihope and bifhops, who proteft againt the popifh religion, and the minifters who proteft againft all religions, are united heart and hand in this idolatrous defign. That, by affenting to a ftatute enacted for the eftablifhment of a legiflature, in Canada, according to the requreft of the fubjects in that province, his majefty hath violated his coronation oath, in which he fwears to govern according to the ftatuees of this realm; and that by thus aeting, according to this requeft of the Canadians, he hath made them all llaves, they and their progeny for ever:

In like manner have they not proved, that his majefty hath moft egregioully infracted the firt aiticle of Magna Charta, in which it is faid, "the "church of England fhall be free, enjoy all her "rights entire, and her liberties unhurt." That this infraction is accomplifhed by permitting the Canadians to enjoy the religion in which they were bred, which was granted them on the capitulation as Quebec, and is that very religion, which alone exifted in England, when, for the prefervation of the church, this very Magna Charta was made? all which things are proved in a manner fo convinc. ing, that nothing remains to be written againft them that can add vigour to the effects they have protuced in the minds of all men of common underftandings.' By thefemeans are we

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not fupplanted, and they become the minis fter's beft friends? And, if the effect may be divided from the caufe, are they not the propereft objects for being penfioned? But alas! fuch are the fublime and difinterefted fentiments of their fouls, and fuch their animofity to corruption, that the thought of forlaking patriotifm for pence, can find no entrance into fuch pure and conftitutional bofoms.

Naturalits lave remarked that, of all animals, a hog is the leaft formed for fwimming : and whenever he prefumes to undertake it, that from his want of dkill in that exercife, he cuts his throat by the mifapplication of his fore-feet; perifhes in the prefumption; is given to the dogs; and men are deprived of many a good ham and flitch of bacon. This animal I take to be the archetype of the prefent antiminifterial writers. For, by having engaged the right hoof in that talk, to which, by nature, they are unequal, they have cut their own shroats: are become carrion; ftink in the noftrils of all honeft men; are food only for the hounds of modern patriots; and the world is thereby robbed of many a ftout ploughman and nimble taylor.

On this account, I humbly intreat that the patrioxic, gentlemen, who have the intereft of poor old England fo much at heart, and find their prefent penmen fo abfolutely incorrigible, will withhold them from thele acts of fuicide, and hire fome able-headed writer, to publifh fomething clever againft the miniftry. And I wifh it might contain a plentiful fprinkling of point, epigtam, and antithefis, dreffed in lublime diction, adorned with the blooming flowers of rhetoric, and animated by a frut of important fyle, raifing private events

## (it)

into public mifchiefs, converting meritorious characlers into the dettroyers of their country, and the vileft of men into the moft difinterefted defenders of the conftitution, and the friends of liberty. Unlefs this be fpeedily done, I greatly apprehend that we poor penfioners mult, through mere policy, be obliged to write againft the minitters, in order to produce a calumny that may be worthy of a reply; and thereby to preferve ourfelves in fome degree of confideration with thofe at the head of public affairs.

The gentleman, having exerted his amazing talents on me, proceeds to a fecond exercife of them, on my fon, and fays, "John Shebbeare, "s the fon of the former, was defigned for an at" torney's office, where he might have cut a fi" gure;"- and thus, this gentleman proves himfelf to be as great a conjuror as he is a writer. For he not only difcovers my defigns; but pronounces for what my fon is fit, without information of the former, or experience of the latter. He perfifts: " at the inftigation, if not at the expence of Dr. "Wilfon, he was fent to Oxford, to learn Jaco". bitifm, under the famous Dr. King, and to " preach up obedience, for conicience fake, to the "de facio king on the throne." It is time enough to anfwer the if, when it is afferted as a fact; in the mean while, neither I nor my fon have the leaft inclination to difown the favours we have received from Dr. Wilfon: whatever they were, we accepted them with due acknowledgement, and remember them with gratitude. But if my fon were fent to learn Jacobitifm at Oxford, he egregioully mifapplied his time; even according to the opinion of this able writer. For it has been hitherto thought, that Jacobites are taught obedience,

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for confcience fake, to a king de jure. But, it feems, my fon learnt to preach obedience, for confcience fake, to a king de facto. Which is jult as fenfible as to fay, that, being bound an apprentice to a floe maker, he learnt his trade by making hobnails. Now it fo happens that he is convinced that our fovereign on the throne is king de jure, as well as de facto. Does not this circumftance fully evince how admirably this gentleman is qualified to write on political lubjects?

He continues; "happily, this young man's "parts not rifing above mediocrity, he has neither "difgraced the kingdom nor himfelf, by any pub" lication in the literary way." I am obliged to the gentleman for his civility: and am heartily forry I cannot return him the compliment, refpecting bis parts and bas publications. However, it feems, "Dr. Wilfon employed this fon of mine to " prove, for the fatisfaction of the confcientious, "that a flained-glafs window might be fet up over " the altar-piece of St. Margaret's church, with" out an idolatrous intention. This proof, worked " up into a pamphet, was foon found on ftalls; "for even the fincing boys thought it a defpicable "compofition." The moft ftriking part of this paragraph is its confiftency with the former. For, it feems, " the young man, who had not difgraced " himfelf by any literary publication," had, neverthelets, difgraced himielf by publifhing a compofition too defpicable for the approbation of the finging boys, who, as they are, undoubtedly, moft excellent judges, ought to be deemed of great weight in literary fubjects. It appears, however, from this circumftance of the finging boys, that this difcerning writer hath miftaken St. Margaret's church for Weftminfter-Abbey : for to the latter,
; it feems, r confcience as fenfible entice to king hobconvinced de jure, as ince fully qualified
ng man's las neither any pubbliged to , heartily , refpectwever, it mine to cientious, t up over ch, with, worked on falls; efpicable $t$ of this r. For, difgraced had, nea comn of the ly, moft of great boys fr. Mar$r$ to the latter,
latter, I conceive, the finging boys belong. "The " proof, however, was worked up into a pampblet," which paffage, had it been written by a man of common undertanding only, would have been, the pampblet worked up into a proof, "was foon found " on ftalls;" where it will be in vain to look for the incomparable publications of this gentleman. They have received their proper application, have difcharged their doty, and are funk to that place of repofe, which is deftined for all fuch ufeful ferformanices.

Errors, like ftraws, upon the furface fow :
He that would feek for pearls mult dive belote.
The gentleman proceeds: "the young man, " quitting all further attempts to book-making; " took orders, fwallowed the whole thirty-nine, "s and bleffed himfelf to think, that what ftuck in " other people's throats, the capacioufnes of his "t tborax could digeft, without a fingle palliative: " and as the father commenced politician," fo the " for commenced theolbgue, through neceffity." As to the "book-making," I thall fay nothing: bur, if this defcription of this young man be to be relied on, he mult be of as fingular a conformation in his bodily, as in his mental parts. Firft, he has fwallowed the whole thirty-nine orders. Till now, I never heared of more than two; priefts and deacons. In the writings of almoft any other fcribe, it might have been imagined, that he had miftaken orders for articles. But in him who talks of the thorax as the place of digeftion, can it be lefs than fhare ignorance ? however, it feems, this young man is the only clergyman, in whofe throat thefe thirty-nine orders did not:ftick, which feems C 2
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to be fome what furpr fing, fince fo many thoufands are now walking sbout, all alive, unchoaked by them. Be that as it may: they were cleverly fwallowed into his capacious thorax. Till now, it has been thought that the throat led into the fomack; but, in my young man, it leads into the tborax, where, ic leems, they are digefted, wichout "palliatives." Hence it is clear, that my fon has his ftomach where others havc their lungs, and his lungs where orhers have their ftomachs; or that the ftomach is placed in the tborax together with the lungs. As this is the only true and genuine formation of a church of England divine; as my young man is the only perfon fo formed; and he alone has fwallowed the whole thirty-nine orders, and bleffed himfelf that they did not ftick in his throat, why are the miniftry to blind to fuch fingular qualifications? why do they not make him 2 dean at leaft to begin with? is not this amazing: neglect of advancing the only man who is truly formed to be every tbing in the church of England, a moft convincing proof, and the only one I wifh to have removed, that his majefty and his minifters are rank papifts. For to what other reafons can it be imputed, that the only man in the kingdom, fo truly, fo ecclefiaftically, and fa cannonically formed, hould remain without preferment? And is not this the firft time that palliarives have been faid to digeft? Will it not prove an embarraffing fubject, to decide whether this gentleman be more incomparable as a divine, an anatomift, a phyfician, or a writer? and, let me tell him, if neceffity made me a politician, and the young man a theologue, as tie calls him, we have much to offer in our behalf, from being compeiled by for irrefiftable a caufe. , and fa out prethat palot prove her this vine, an let me and the we have mpeiled

The gentleman now returns to me: "the fuc"cefs of the one, however, involved in it the " profperity of the other." Being found guilty of a libel, ftanding on the pillory, three years imprifonment and a fine feem to be bur an odd luccefs on my fide. However, it involved in it the profperity of my young man. 1 have heared it faid, " happy is the child whole father goes to the "devil ;" but I never heared, till now, that the fame good fortune attends the children of thole who ftand on the pillory, yer I hope it will prove urue. However the writer may take the hint, be equally fucceffful, and involve in it the prolperity of his own progeny, by the like means. The holes are open to him. He now adds, "for as old Sheb" beare exhibited his bronzed phyz through the " hole of a pillory, as he was elevated on a wood" en roftrum, he gained admirers as culprits at "t the gallows gain pity) from the beholders." Now, as I was not the maker of my own phyz, by what means could I prevent its qualities? I exhibited the beft face, and the beft apparel I had; and I was attended with good company. And, if I gained admirers, I fee no occafion for exhibiting a better. As to the compariton of pity and the gallows, I would advife this writer to referve the latter for himfelf, as the only means by "hich he can obtain the former. "Amongtt thefe behold"ers," as he lays, " fome of them complimented " my fapient fon with a valuable church living." Now it fo happens, that this living was prefented by a lady, as guardian to her two granddaughters; the firlt of thele was then in Lancathire, and the children were then unborn. On this in. zount, I humbly prefume that neither of them could

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could have been my beholder on that day of exaltation.

And now fays this incomparable fcribe, "if "the reader's indignation is excited, by the con" duct of the former, that indignation Should be " a little foftened, our of pity to the latter, who " has fome virtues." 1 am glad he acknowledges that. But why; then has he abufed him; without provocation? he then adds, "bur what virtues "either of them may poffefs are almoft totally " eclipfed by an immoderate fhare of vanity ?" and thus, it feems, that 1 have fome virtues allo. But what is this immoderate fhare of vanity? it is that, "thofe who know the family can bear' "s witnefs, that it was no uncommon thing (after " the doctor's exaltation on the pillory) for them " to boaft, that they were of French extraction, " and allied, by the grandmother's fide, to fome " of the antient kings of France." As this gentieman feems to be the very quintefcence of truth, it cannot be doubted that he knows fomebody, who knows the family, who can bear witnels to the preceding circumftance. But it is all news to me. ForIam andever fhall be too ntuch an Englifhman, to entertain the vanity of being thought of French extraction. Unlefs, ir can be proved, that I am defcended from his moft chriftian majefty. Then, indeed, my loving coufin, the king of France, may recommend me to bis loving coufin, the king of Great-Britain, and fome advantage may be derived from my confanguinity. However, I am more than fulpicious, that my pedigree cannot bear witnefs to this defcent, the moft extraordinary, I believe, that has ever been known. It is that I'am allied; by the grandmother's fide,' to fome of the antient kings of France. Till this time,
time, I always imagined that, like other men, I had a father and mother, and that tach of theni had a father and mother alfo; and therefore thi ; I mult have had two grandmothers. But it feems I have been conftantly miftaken. For I am defcended directly from one only, the grandmother, and allied, by her fide, to th: kings of France. And hereby it fhould feem that this alliance was not continued, like that of other men, through a father and mother. I confefs it puzzles me much to explain, by what method of procreation I can have had but one grandmother; or, without parents, even fo much as one. And if I had a father and mother, how one woman can be the grandmother of both of them, unlefs mine were brother and fifter, which, I believe, they were not. This ttory, of the grandmother and my defcent, would, I imagine, puzzle the whole college of heralds; not only to alcertain the grandmother, but allo to exemplify, by any method now in ufe, my alliance to the French monarchs, without the intervention of two parents. As this boaft did not take place till after my exaltation on the pillory, it would feem as if I obtained this high alliance by afcent, and not by defcent. And that, when my body was raifed above the heads of the people, my blood, allo, was ex- . alted above theirs, into blood-royal. But, this gentleman being the fole herald of this defcent, he muft explain it, or it will never be underftood.
" Such," fays this worthy writer, "is Dr. Sheb"beare: fuch is the rev. John Shebbeare, his "fon:" and then I readily allow, that beis, in conformation of body, and that $I \mathrm{am}$, in genealogical defcent, not to be equalled in the univerfe.

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A thoufand fuch papers would have been aps plied to their proper ufe, unnoticed by me, as a multiplicity of that kind had already been, but on the roth of Augurt, the following letter appeared in the Public Ledger.

## For the Public Ledger.

## To Doztor Sbebbeare.

Sir,
As you feem difpofed, hy candour, to anfwer every queftion which mi be afked with goodnature, I think it the proper time to propound the following queries :

1. Did you nor, many years ago, folicit fubfcriptions for an hiftory of England, which you engaged to finifh, and declared was then in great forwardnefs?
2. Did you not receive fubfcriptions for this faid hiftory, to a very confiderable amount?
3. Has the work (which fo many years ago was in great forwardnefs) ever yet appeared in print?
4. Had you at the time you received the fubfcriptions the fmalleft intention that it fhould; have you at this inftant the finalleft intention that it fhall ever be publifhed?
5. Ought you not, in common honefty, to return the money to the fubfcribers; or in common honour to difcharge the conditional obligation for which you received it?
6. If you do neither of thefe, have we any occafion to fearch the records to prove your infamy? muit we look to the pillory for the beft wholelength picture of the man; to his public conduct for the beft miniature of his moral turpitude ?

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" induced by two reaions. Firft, that thofe who " have 作解 themitives fo cordially difpofed to. " treat me with ill manners, may not lay hold " on this occalion to indulge their nander under "that fignature. And fecondly, that Mr. A. M. " may have nothing imputed to his charge which " he has not written: nor I have any thing to an" fwer which proeeds not from that perfon. And "I thall be under no apprehenfion of not dif" proving all that he can adduce, and of not fatis" fying the public that the whole which he hath " afferted, in his letter, is a futile tale and a " groundlefs accufation."

From the preceding paffige, it appears that this correfpondent of mine has taken occalion to fay, in the introduction to the queries, "as you feem " difpofed, by candour, to anfwer every queition " which may be alked with good-nature," \&c. and from hence has thought proper to take up a paffage of the firt paper in the ledger, where it is faid, I have received lublcriptions for an hiftory of England, which, to this hour, has never been publifhed. He then affumes the fignature of "a fubferiber," and with good-nature, as he avers, propounds the antecedent queries. It does not to me appear on what grounds he can conclude that, becaule I had limited the illmanners and flander, with which I might be treated, to the fubjects fotely of papers, under the fignature of A. M. that therefore I feem difpofed to anfwer every queftion, which may be afled, under every other. Might not the perfon, to whom I had lent my furtout, have as reatonably laid claim to the ufe of all the clothes I poffers? and how the queries, which he alks, can be deemed to proceed from good-nature, is paft my conception.

I will

I will now give both diftinct and faithful anfwers to every query.

Query ift, Did you not, many years ago, folicit fubferiptions for an hiftory of England, which you engaged to finim, and declared was then in great forwardnefs :--...- Anfwer, 1 did folicit fuch fubfcriptions, for a firft volume of an hiftory of England, but not in the manner you reprefent it, in your firft paper, as preceding my imprifonment: it was after I was confined in the King's Bench. I engaged to finifh it; but I never declared that it was in great forwardnefs, becaufe it was not then begun.
Q. 2d, Did you not receive fubferiptions to a very confiderable amount?-A. Not fufficient to pay for paper and printing. And, a3 a fpecimen of what I received from thofe who, I thought, were the moft likely to promote it, the fubfcriptions from the lords and gentlemen of the Cocoa-tree amounted but to feventeen guineas. But the fimallnefs of this fum is, by no means, offered as an excufe for the delay in printing it.
Q. 3 d, Has the work (which fo many years ago was in great forwardnefs) ever yer appeared in print? -A. Ihe work was never faid to be in great forwardnels, nor has it yet appeared in print.
Q. the $^{\text {th }}$ Had you, at the time you received the fubficiptions, the finalleft intention that it fhould? have you, at this inftant, the fmalleft intention that it hall ever be publifhed? - : A. The firft receipts which were delivered, were for a firft volume of an hiftory of England, fron: the revolution to the prefent time.' But, at the perfuafion of my friends; I was induced to alter my defign; and

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receipts were iffued for a firft volume of the hiftory of England, and of the conflitution thereof, from its origin to the prefent time. That volume I wrote, and had it tranfcribed, whilft I was in prifon: it is now in my poffeffion. Of every receipt I delivered to my friends, to be difpofed of, and of every guinea (the terms of the fubfcription) I received, a regular account was kept, which I now have. Both of thefe fhall be open to the infpection of the writer of thefe queries, if he be in fact a fubfcriber; and of every other who may chufe to receive fuch latisfaction. Is it not therefore too manifeft to be denied, that at the time I propofed to write this hiftory, that I intended the publication of it? with what other imaginable defign could I have given myfelf the pains of writing it? and although many circumftances of a private and domeftic nature muft be included in the fubfequent exculpation of mytelf, which few are willing to relate ; yet I will poftpone that and every other confideration for the fake of truth, and the prelervation of my integrity. I will, therefore, without difguife or relervation, candidly affign my reafons for the delay in printing; and declare my prefent intentions.

A few days before my being tried, for writing the fixth letter to the people of England, the dutchefs of Queenfbury, with great juttice, obtained an injunction, to ftop the publifhing of the continuation of lord Clarendon's hiftory, which I had printed, and advertifed, in confequence of a written agreement, between Francis Gwynn, efq; and me. In this ayreement it was fpecified that I fhould be at the expence of paper, printing, and all others, and then that the profit of the work
ihould be equally divided between us. In this olvligation, that worthy fquire declares himfelf to be juftly entitled to the manufcript from which it was printed: notwithttanding which, as it afterwards appeared, this very manufcript had been furreptitioully obtained. Great part of the money for printing it had been paid by me; and it was not till fix years after the injunction was obtained, that the caufe was heared, in the court of King's Bench, before lord Mansfield; when, I obtained a verdict, for all the expences incurred by printing the preceding work, amounting to more than five hundred pounds. Of that fum, almont one half had been wafted, on my fide, in the courts of chancery and law. During my confinement, I never received, as prefents, more than twenty guineas, from all the world. And it may eafily be imagined, that my circuinftances were not improved by three year's imprifonment. I had no club of partifans, to maintain me during that time; to difcharge my debts; nor even the fine, which I was obliged to pay, after a three year's confinement, for a fingle offence. Notwithitanding the difficulties which inevitably arofe from thele particulars, and although an infolvent act was paffed, foon after his majefty's acceffion to the throne, and my circumftances might have apologized for my taking that opportunity which it offered; I, neverthelefs, declined from availing myicelf of that occafion, to evade the payment of my debts. I preferred the labour of endeavouring to pay them, and the rifk of being again imprifoned if I did not fucceed. But thank heaven I am in no danger of a fecond imprifonment on that afcount. And this wifinclination to avail myfelf

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of the preceding treans, will, I hope, be received as fome proof, as I am not difpoled to free myfelf, without parment, from the demands of money, by methods which that act allowed, that I am not inclined to acquire it by froudulent meafures.

As it was impracticable, whilft I was in confinement, to procure that variety of books; or to apply to manufcript authorities, for all that was requifite to the compleating of this firt volume, I found, on being releafed from my imprifonment; and on application to the former only, that the volume which I had written, was incorrect, infufficient, and erroneous, in too many particulars, to admit of its being publifhed, without injuftice to my fubfcribers, and reprehenfions on myfelf. Into this difpleafing fituation I had been milled, by relying on the authorities of modern hiftorians, who pretend to cite the authors from whence their materials are taken, many of whom appear neve. to have feen them; but implicitly to have copied one another, and all of them manifeftly defective; not only in the authorities they fhould have fought, but in their omiffions and mifreprefentations of thofe whom they had confulted: more efpecially refpecting thofe parts of the old German codes, on which cur conftitution is erected, and withour which, it cannot be properly explained or underftood. Such being the real fituation of things, I perceived that more time than I could expect to live would be neceflarily required, for fo extenfive a work, as the whole hiftory I had propofed; and that a fingle volume, or even a few volumes of an hiftory incomplete, would, by no means, anfwer either the intention of my fubfribers, or my own. I determined, therefore, to change my plan,
and to include, in one volume, that which might require no others to compleat this new defign.

From the day 1 left the King's Bench prifon to the prefent, I declined all folicitation of fubferipti-ons: and, although by much the grateft part of the receipts I iffued are not returned, nor the money which anfwers to them. I never have enquired, by letter or otherwife, what was the event of them; nor have I received more than eleven guineas, the laft of which was fo long fince as the 8th of March, 1763 . And this I am ready to prove, by the book, in which are entered all the receipts I ever diftributed, and every guinea I have received.

In confequence of this alteration, I refolved to exert my beft abilities, not only to trace the conftitution of England from its origin, in the woods of Germany, as Monlieur De Moncefquieu expreffes it, but from the firf principles in human nature, from which the formation of all kinds of government is derived. With this view I have attempted an analyzation of the mental and corporeal faculties, in order to fhew in what manner they reciprocally influence each other in the various actions of man, not only as an individual, but as a.gregarious being, impelled by nature to affociate in communities. From hence I have attempted to delineate, in what manner legiflature fprang and proceeded from i:s fource, through that variety of meanders, which it hath formed in its current, both before and fince the introduction of one common fign, whereby to exprefs the incrinfic value, not only of all the productions of nature and of art, jut even of the human faculties, as they are now eftimated. To compare the conititutions of thofe different flates, which have been, and are the moft celebrated in ancient
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ancient and modern hiftory, with each other, and with that of England; and then to derive fome reafonable grounds for she determination of that which feems to be the moft confentaneous with the primogenial inftitutes of nature, and the happinefs of human kind. In confequence of this incent, the manners that fucceffively arofe and prevailed in fuch ftates, the benefits and mifchiefs which enfued from them, are delineated, in order to explain on what foundation the welfare of national communities may moft probably be eftablifhed.

But from the inevitable obligations, not only of fupporting my own family, but thofe, alfo, whom, as fon and brother, it was my duty to fuftain for forty years; and which, refpeeting the claims of the latter, ftill continues, it wiil ie eafily difcerned, that many an avocation mult have proceeded from thefe circumftances, as well as from a fenfe of gratitude to his majefty, in defence of whofe government, I have thought it my duty occafionally to exert my beft abilities. Thefe truths will, I hope, offer a reafonable apology for the retardment of the publication.

In this laft defign, however, laborious and difficult as it is, I have advanced to a confiderable d'gree: and this manuficript I am, at all times, ready to produce as an indubitable evidence of the truth of what I declare. This work I fhall now finifh, with all practicable expedition. To the completion of it, I hall now confign my renaining days, yet not fo invariably, as to neglect my duty of writing in other refpects. And, thank heaven! I am neither fo advanced in age, or reduced by infirmities, as to create a reafonable fufpicion that I may not live longer than to finifh it. Such is my anfwer to this injurious query; in which
er, and e fome of that as with he hapthis in-prevailts which $r$ to exnational hed. only of whom, Atain for laims of difcernoceeded a fenfe f whofe occalitruths for the
and dif. iderable times, e of the all now To the remainect my thank or reble furinih ir. ry; in which
which I am treated as a felon, who has violated the laws, by obtaining money under falfe pretences.
Q. 5 th, Ought you not, in common honefty, to return the money to the fubfcribers, or, in common honour, to difcharge the conditional obligation, for which you received it? -- A. Undoubtedly, I ought to perform the former, if $I$ do not execute the latter. This, I have fhewn, I have long been, and am now engared in. No time was ever fixed, for the delivery of the books; and therefore I cannot have exceeded any engagement. And there are various inftances, of which one is very recent, that of a gentleman, who has conftantly received fubfcriptions, for a time much more confiderable, than that between my receiving the firit fubfcription and this day, who has honourably difcharged the obligation. And, from a dike behaviour, nothing but death fhall prevent me alfo.
Q. 6th, If you do neither of thefe, have we any occafinn to fearch the records, to prove your infamy ? muft we look to the pillory, for the beft whole-length picture of the man; to his public conduct, for the beft miniature of his moral turpitude? - A. What I have done, and fhall do, refpecting either of thefe, I have already declared, in my anfiwer to the preceding query. And, thus, you muift fearch the records, to prove what you call my infamy, for it cannot be proved by what you fay. But remember, it is not the fcaffold, but the crime, that conftitutes the infamy of punifhment. Take my whole-length picture from the pillory, if you like it; and the miniature, alin, from the moral turpitude of my public conduct, as you call it: for know, that although that conE duct
duct were illegal, it was not immoral. Unlefs to deliver fuch truths, as have never been'controverted, in defence of the rights and libertits of my native country, be an inmoral act. The laws, indeed, may make tratb a libel; bur can they alter the nature of things, and make that a noral turpitude, which as fubjects of this kingdom we ought to perform? Review this query. And, if you are fufceptible of the leaft ferfation of an honeft heart, place yourfelf, a volunteer, on the pillory; and prove, at leaft, as you are capable of the infamous act, of wantonly invading the character of an honeft man; that, confcious of this moral turpitude in yourfelf, and of the libellous calumny of your queries, you can repent as well as tranigrefs; and, by that act of morality, at once do juftice to me, by doing juttice on yourfelf.
Q. $7^{\text {th }}$, In cafe of your death, have you deputed your fon, to return the lubferibers their money? or is he to write the hiftory his fatl $r$ was paid beforehand for undertaking? an hiftury from yourlelf woukl be dull enough in all confcience: an hiftory from your fon would be a fcald-mifesable production indeed!-A. I have, already, told you, I do not intend to die till what I propofe be finimhed. If I do, care fhall be taken refpecting what you afk. And, if you chufe a farther fatisfaction, let me have the pleafure of feeing your good-natured face, and you fhall receive that which faili content you. But what right, under the term fubfiriber, even with your real name annexed, can you have to treat my fon in fo illiberal a manner? or ever. me, unlefs you had firft enquired the reafons why the hiftory was not publifhed? had you forged a fubfcription to a draft for five pounds, you had merited a halter by the laws. noral turwe ought $f$ you are eft heart, ory ; and infamous er of an oral turlumay of ranigrefs; juftice to
you deers their arl $r$ was ory from nficience : ald-mife. already, 1 probe taken chufe a eafure of fhall rezat right, eal name n fo illihad firf not pubdraft for he laws. But

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But have not you invented a new kind of forgery, more injurious than the former, by affuming that term to which you are not entitled, and which is infinitely more deferving a public punifhment? for who exifts and deferves the name of man, that does not eftimate his character beyond his monev! therefore altho' the laws cannot commit you to the hands of the public executioner, yet juftice would, for this unprovoked and audacious invalion of my character. But if you be a real fubicriber, declare your name, live not beneath the guilt of fo foul a forgery, repent of the iniquitous intention to purloin that which is the immediate jewel of our fouls.

As to the merit of my writings and my fons, thefe thall fpeak for themfelves. If they poffefs no merit, you can neither impart it, by your applaufe, nor, if they do, deprive them of it, by your defamation.
Q. 8th, For what did lord Bute procure you a penfion? for the punctual performance of your promite? or for the fcandalous perfonal abufe you caft on his late majefty? if you keep your word with government no better than with your fubfcribers, adminiftration, it they thought of purchafing your hóriour, were moft confoundedly taken in. - A. It was not by the means of lord Bute that my penfion was procured.' 'At the time it was bettowed on me, Mr. Grenville was minifter. It was Sir John Philips who interefted himfelf in my favour; and, on his perfonal application to the king, his majefty was plealed to lpeak of me in terms too favourable for me to repeat; but which I will, undeviating'y, endeavour to deferve, by allegiance and by gratitude. I fay not this, with the leaft intent to infinuate that I enteriain E 2 the
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the nighteft furpicion, had his lordfhip been then the minitter, that he would have oppofed his majefty's bounty towards me. Neither have I ever united, nor will unite, in the malicious, unrelenting and unmerited purfiut of that nobleman. For, by fixing the magiftracy of the judges during life, by limiting the civil lift to 800,000 . per annum, by reducing the profufion of the houfehold expences, and by concluding a war, of which a two years farther continuance, would, in all probability, have bankrupted this nation, he proved, that he entered on the miniftry with a fincere intention of ferving, and did ferve his country. But fuch was the enormous parliamentary corruption, which the whigs had begun, and cherifhed, from the revolution to his majefty's acceffion to the throne, that, had a bill been then propofed, in the commons, for their admiffion into the celeftial manfions, the majority of them would not have given their votes, without being paid, for this falvation of their own fouls.

That peace, which his enemies have fo fcandalounly decried, is now proved to be of infinite advan tage to this kingdom. On that peace the prefent miniftry have formed that act, which, according to the opinions of the moft celebrated writers on the polity and government of nations, is the moft juft, judicious, and requifite, that a conquering ftate can inftitute; fince nothing can acquire and preferve the allegiance of new fubjects, fo effectually as permitting them to remain in the fecure enjoyment of their religion and laws, the former of which was ftipulated on the capitulation at Quebec. That aet has not only fixed the fidelity of thofe Canadians to their new king; it has eftablighed alfo an ample and fufficient force to quell the democratic foirits of the American
been the 1 ed his maave I ever unrelentman. For; luring life, per annum, fehold exhich a two $1]$ probabiroved, that e intention But fuch ion," which om the rethe throne, in the comeftial manhave given is falvation
fo fcandainite advan= prefent miding to the n the polity $t$, judicious in inftitute; the allegi permitting nt of their s Atipulated act has not ans to their and fufficiof the A merican

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rican fectaries; in whom rebellion is as naturally inherent, as aliment in food, a ad who will as certainly manifett their regicide difpofitions, on all occafions that may offer, as plants will germinate in the vernal feafon. As to your ifs, they Mall be anfwered, when you can prove there is the leaft ground for afking them.
Q. 9th, With what fhadow of reafon, can you complain of being treated with ill manners, in the ledger, when you have been fet upon, though not in the pillory, for abufing your fovereign, in the groffeft terms? -A. And thus, it feems, you conclude that, becaufe I have been fet on the pillory, for a libel, I have no Shadow of reafon to complain of your effrontery, when you treat me as a felon. Would it not be juft as fenfible in you to have concluded that, on having been obliged to live one day without food, I could have no fhadow of reafon to complain, if it was conftantly denied me? as to the abufe of the late king, I have already anfwered that part of your query.
Q. 10th, Inftead of reviewing the writings of other men, would not your time be more properly employed in a review of your own actions, and a preparation for the grave, to which you are now moft vifibly haftening? - A. With refpect to the reviewing of other men's writings, I am not now engaged in that office; nor ever was I, longer than three months : and even that was more than fix years fince. As to the reviewing of my actions, that cannor be your concern. And if your own be as deteftable, as your heart is evidently black, from thefe queries; take the hint of reviewing and repenting of them alfo: left it be, otherwife, your fate never to defcend to a grave
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of chriftian burial. For, after this unprovoked defign, in difguife to ftab my integrity, can it be a wonder, if you become a real affaffin, are hanged at Tyburn; given to the furgeons for diffection; and your fkeleton exhibited in a glals cafe, with this motto, peffimorum peffimus.
Q. Ith, Will it not be very complaifant in you, to anfwer fuch of thefe queries, as relate to the fubficription money, received for your hiftory of England ?'- A. I have been more than very complaifant: I have anfwered all the queries. And, I flatter myfelf, to the fatisfaction of all men, that I am not the villain you would make me; and that I have proved that you deferve that deteftation which you intended to heap on me.

Such are my anfwers to the preceding queries. In thefe, he has compelled me to relate many things, which men in general would wifh to avoid, the laying before the public: but in none have I deviated from truth. And I doubt not, that the difapprobation of fo malignant and fo unprovoked an attack on my character, will prove to be the general fentiment of thofe who may read this anfwer.

As I have now both fully and candidly anfwem ed the queries which this fubicriber pronounced with fuch fignal good nature, I Shall, in my turn, prefume to afk him a like number; and call on him for anfwers.

Query 1. Had you received the education of an apothecary, which you affect to deride, would you have talked of ftyptics to beal, of bandages being fold by apothecaries, and of urinals as utenfils for women. Would not you have known that the throat does not lead into the thorax ; that the - thorax

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thorax is not the ftomach; and therefore does not digeit ; and would not that breeding have prevented you from the difgrace of expoling yourfelf by fuch egregious ignorance?
Q. 2. How came you to conceive that affes cannot bray? are you void of all vocal utterance, or fo deaf that you cannot bear yourfelf?
Q. 3. Can your education have exceeded that of a drayman, who have miftaken the two facerdotal orders for the thirty nine articles of the church of England? are you not endowed with moft confummate effrontery to accufe a man of being bred a Jacobite: you, who do not underfand the difference, between de jure, and de faEto, as applied to kings? or can you be the leaft judge of literary performances, who have not ideas to the words you ufe?
Q. 4. What right, or what provocation have you to recall the punifhment I fuffered, or repeatedly to expole me in the Public Ledger, before the eyes of all the Britifh fubjects, as ttanding on the pillory, fixteen years after I had attoned for the offence?
Q. 5. Are you not the very libeller, which in me you fo much condemn? do you not deferve that punifhment, which, as you lay, is, to a virtuous character, worfe than death? have you in your queries afforded the minuteft hint that you are actuated by one fpark of virtue, fenfe, or good manners?
Q.6. In what paffages of my writings is the late king treated with foul abufe; or the revolution traduced? are you not one of that traiterous gang that is eternally infulting his prefent majefty with the moft flagrant libels?

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Q. 7. Were you really a fubfcriber, what plaufible motive could you have had to treat me publickly as a felon, acquiring money under falfe pretences, without having previoully applied to me for anfwers to the fubject of your queries? have you not affumed the fignature, without being a fubifriber, in order to fabricate a pretext for propofing to me your illiberal queftions? will you dare to affix your name to them? if you refufe it, are you not avowedly guilty of a forgery, inexpreffibly more criminal, than that of fubferibing another man's name to a bill, with a view fraudulently to obtain money from the perfon on whom it is drawn? is not integrity more valuable than riches? in juftice do you not more truly deferve to die by the hands of the common hang. man, for thus endeavouring to rob me of my good name, than if you had been feized in burglariouny breaking into my houfe?
Q. 8. Would not you, who have thus infidiouny laboured to itab my repuration, have as willingly affaffinated me, could you have accomplifhed it with the like concealment and impunity ?
Q. 9. Is not this act of caufelefsly invading my reputation an infamy which ought to be branded on your forehead, as a ftigma to warn mankind from affociating with fo malicious and fo black a man?
Q. 10. Ought you not to be expelled the fociety of all eftimable men, as a being peftilential to the community?
Q. 1 f . Will it not be as complaifant in you, is it not as indifpenfably your duty to anfwer thefe queries, and to fubfribe your real name, as it was mine to anfwer yours, and afix my name to that anfwer? unlefs you comply with thefe particulars,
t plaus re pub er falfe lied to ueries? it being ext for vill you fufe it, , inexfcribing frallrfon on raluable ruly de$n$ hang. 1y good ariouny $s$ infidi: as wil-mplifhity? ling my branded nankind b black the fotilential er thefe s it was to that ticulars, do
do you not ftand felf-condemned, and deferve the univerial deteftation of mankind?

I fhall now leave you to ruminate on what I have written, and to do juttice to yourfelf, by antiwering, if you can; if not to me, by a full acknowledgement of your flagitious treatment. In the mean while, 1 hall take this opportunity of advertifing the publiihers of the ledger, and of all other papers, that 1 will no longer be tamely taken up by them, like an odd man, among the chairmen, when no other is at hand, to fupply paragraphs of defamation, and fill the meafure of their icurrility, when no other fubject can be found.

Whatever were my offence, I neither fled fronis the fentence of the court, nor have I, from that day to this hour, either in words or writing, attempted to afperfe the character, or arraign the juftice of that judge and jury by whom [ was tried and foond guilty. I knew that greater punifhments were not unprecedented : and mine I bore without complaining. I was foon convinced that nothing of a cruel or vindictive fpirit poffefled lord Mansfield againft me. For when my life was in danger, from an ill ftate of health, and I applied to the court of King's-Bench, for permifion to be carried inte the rules, a few hours in the day, bis lordhip readily acceded to that petition. This judge Fofter pertinaceounly denied and defeated. Even fince the time when the celebrated patriot of the London livery was fentenced, but to two years imprifonment, and a fine which, to bim, was nothing, for one offence againft the government, and three againtt religion, I neither did then, nor do I now complain of the apparent difparity of offence and infliction betweep us. It was his peculiar happinefs to be tried, found guilty, and $F \quad$ fentenced

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\left(3^{6}\right)
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fentenced in the reign of our prefent fovereign, to whom his enemies have imputed even mercy as a crime.

Is it not natural to inngine that the being expofed on the pillory, three years clofe continement within the walls of a prifon, together with a fine, might have been deemed a punifhment adequate to the tranlgrefion; and fufficient to fatisfy the vindictive fpirit, even of Whigs, and Prefbyterians: more efpecially, as no man among them has hitherto been able to difcover, that what I wrote, and for which 1 fuffered, was either falfe, malicious, or feditious? Nor did it relate to the private acions of any man, but to the public and national proceedings of minifters, with which the people have a claim to be acquainted, when they are deftructive of their happinels and welfare. And I may aver, with the ftrictelt veracity, that the letters which were written to the people of England, contributed not a little towards creating the popularity, and thereby to the elevation of lord Chatham to the feat of prime minifter. To him, his enemies acknowledge this nation is indebted, for the happy change of their affairs, on his admiffion to the conduct of them. Why then are my endeavours, to that end, entirely buried in oblivion; my offence and my punifiment inceffantly remembered?

Even againit the dilcarded minifters, who fo relentlefsly purfued me, I never have complained. Men in power, place, and profit, are naturally vincietive, and feel the lofs of them with inexpreffible refentment; and not the lefs, becaufe the allegations which are brought againft them are indifputably true. Such teing the conditions of their being men, whatever were my fufferings, however feverely they werc inflicted, I have, at no time,
fovereign, n mercy as
ing expofed ment withfine, might uate to the : vindictive ans : more s hitherto te, and for licious, or ate acions tional proeople have deftructive may aver, ters which ad, contriopularity, hatham to is enemies the hapion to the deavours, ny offence red? who fo remplaines. naturally ith inexcaufe the $m$ are inlitions of ufferings, ive, at no time,

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time, fince the day of my commitment to prifon, written one word againft them. They are now dead, and peace be to their manes.

It is lord Chatham only of whom I have reafon to complain; who having profited by my writings, and having publickly declared, that he avowed the truth of all that they contained; in return for my endeavours to lerve him, after he was mounted above the throne, and poffeffed of abfolute power, not only permitted me to be punifhed for writing words lefs offenfive than he had repeatedly fooken in the houfe of commons; but even ill treated Sir John Philipps, who applied to him in my favour.

Such oeing the true flate, refpecting me and my punilhment, on what pretext, after the expiration of fixteen years, from the time of my offence, am I to be thus undefervedly treated by thofe whofe talents arile not to the knowledge either of the fubject, or the language in which they write; who in ambufcade fo infidiounly attack me on all occafions? why is my tranfgreffion never to be forgotten, and my punifhment to know no bounds? why do they return to old tranfactions for new abufe; and continually expofe me on the pillory for that which I have already attoned by my fufferings? for, is it not as equally a punifhment to be expofed in news-papers to the millions of my fellow-fubjects, as at Charing-Crofs, to a few hundreds? and would not thefe remorfelefs mifcreants, who thus treat my name in their publications, as readily bring me in perfon to the pillory, could it be done with equal impunity. Of fuch anonymous and abufive writers I fhall henceforth take no notice; but leave them in their garrets to their lice.

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But although thefe writers are contemptible, namelefs and infcrutable, their publifhers are not. And I would have thefe gentlemen be ffured, that I will no longer be made their property of abufe : and if any thing be hereafter inlerted, without the name of the writer, and their being poffeffed of fufficient evidence to prove who he is, that I will feek from them that redrefs, to which by law I am entitled; and no longer remain fupinely inattentive to fuch publications as are illegal. Full fixteen years I have been the caufelefs object of their maleduction and calumny, without refentment or reply. They have now extended their malevolence to my fon. And, if they thall be ftill indulget! in this illiberal proceeding, they may,' at length, plead prefeription; a:d their fucceffors in fcanail perfevere with impunity, not only to revile me, but all that may be defcended from me. And to this admonition I expect they will pay a due actention.

Having now done with namelefs and abulive writers, and with news-paper publifhers, I fhall embrace this occafion of conveying my fentiments to a pair of gentlemen who, in fpeeches, fince pablifhed, have been pleafed to traduce me, withcut the leaft provocation. Thefe are two Orators, of prodigious merit, tine right hon. Tommy Townfhend, and the right learned Counfellor Lee. The former of thefe is thus characterifed in the St. James's Chronicle of July the 3oth, by a writer who affumes the fignature of Clio: and therefore, mufa majora canamus.
"The right honourable Thomas Townfhend is one of the moit refpectable members that fit in the houfe. 'Though he is wanting in fluency of expreflion; yet the foundnefs of his fenfe, the fpirit

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of condect, the integrity of his character, and the vehemence of his manner, render him, upon the whole, one of the moft formidable members in oppofition." To the integrity of his character ( have nothing to object ; for I know nothing of it. The foundnefs of his fenfe and the fpirit of his conduct, I fhall beg leave to examine. At the fame time, I acknowledge the "vehemence of his manner," does render him one of the moft formidable members in oppofition; for, in his fpeaking, he feems as if he were going to bite.

Clio concinues," his eloquence, when he happens to be fluert, which he fometimes is, has a greater effect than that of any man in the houfe; for the firit, the fire, with which he attacks a minitter, or a meafure, is commanding : he throws his objections in the ftrongeft light poffible, and is unmerciful in the conclufions he draws from evil duings." A very butcher of an orator. "In his connections and fpeeches, he is remarkable for his true old Whiggifh principles; and his abhorrence of the meafures, which brought in Tories and Jacobites." Ever fince he hath been difmiffed from his places and profits. Clio proceeds, "his fpeech on the penfions, given to dociors Shebbeare and Johnfon, and the countenance fhewn to Sir John Dalrymple, for having vilitied the memory of lord Ruffel, and the great Sydney, was a performance, which will not be foon forgiven at St. James's." Which, if it be true, is no great proof of the foundnelis of his ferfe. However, that fpeech " had prodigious merit, and was greatly, received. Lord North attempted to anfwer it, but failed." Neverthelefs, I will undertake to attempt that in which, as Clio fays, the prime minifter mifcarried. "The channel in which the patronage
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tronage of the prefent reign Hows, is a neverfailing topic with him." He is no longer in that channel. "And he cuts it up with great fipirit, wit, and as little mercy." With much more mercy fmall as it is than fnirit, or wit, I affure you. And is not cutting up a channel moft happily metaphorical?

And now, fays Clio," whenever a change in the miniftry happens, he is expected to fill one of the higheft pofts in adminiftration ; and he will fill it with credit to himfelf, and advanage to the kingdom." From a comparifon of this character with the fpeech above alluded to, and printed in the London Yacket of the 18 th of February, I cannot but conclude, they are the productions of the fame genius. And this character intended as an election puff, to exhibit his talents and his confequence to the aniverfity of Cambridge, of which he is the reprefentative. Be that as it may, Ihumbly prefume to offer a different reading of the laft paflage in his character; and to luppole Mr . Townihend fpeaking in the firit perton. "Whenever a change in the miniftry happens, I expect to fill one of the highelt pults in adminiftration : and I will fill it with profit to myfelf, whatever the advantage may be to the kingdom."

The character being dilpatched, I come now, to the fpeech itfelf, of fuch prodigious merit, and to greatly received, that lord North failed in anforing it. It was fpoken in oppofition to a motion isade in the boule of commons, for profecuting the printers of a paper that appeared in the Public Advertifer and Norning Chronicle, of the 16 th of February, figned a South Briton. "I cannot forbear, fays he, remarking, on the indultry and painsemployed to paint the offence now ftated to you in the molt aggravated colours, when the very per-

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perfons, who not only condemned the revolution, which is the thing brought againft the pitiful author of the libel, now before you, but who reviled the prince on the throne, and endeavoured to overturn rhe con!litution and the laws, are now publicly careffed and penfioned. The men I mean are, Dr. Shebbeare and Dr. Johnfon. I have no perional knowledge of either of them; but I am well informed, that Shebbeare has a peinfron, and that Johnfon's has been doubled fince he wrote a certain pamphlet, in which every prince, fince the revolution, but his prefent majetty, has been moft infamouny and fcandaloully traduced. Are thefe then the men that are to be taken into the boiom of adminiftration, in order to be rewarded for offences little fhort of treafon; and is a poor wretched printer or obfcure fcribler to feel the full force of our indignation for a crime however reprehenlible in ittelf, when compared with thole which 1 have mentioned fcarcely worthy of our notice? there are fome perfons, near me, defcendants of the illuftrious Ruffel; and I have myfelf, a drop of the blood of Sydney in me. I muft confels, I cannot therefore fit filent and hear the refentments of this houle poured upon an infignificant printer, at the intigation of thofe who countenance, protect, and encourage the men who have attempted, in the moft cool and deliberate manner, to revile that revolution, to which thofe heroes fo glorioully paved the way."

I hall now examine into the prodigious merit of this exhibition of oratoric excellence, the found icife, and firit of conduct of this moft formiwhemember in the oppofition, concluding that ans occafion he was fluent. There are various qualifications, both in the feaker and the fpeech, that
that are indifpenfibly requifite to conftitute the former an crator, and the latter an oration. Among thefe, confiftency of character, truth, and fentiments coinciding, through the whole, and conducive to the fame purpofe, to fay nothing of the energy of ityle, propriety of expreflion, and powers of elocution. Among the excellences of this formidable fpeaker, enumerated in the preceding character, this is one, "that he is remarkable for his true old whiggifh principles." And, as an evidence of this truth, he gets up, denominates the paper before them a libel againft the revolution; and declares, he cannot fit filent, and hear the refentments of the houfe poured upon an infignificant printer, who, as he allows, had publifhed a libel againgt the revolution. This, I apprehend, the very perfection of confiftency; an old whig l.: $:$ paper before him, a libel againft the revolution. He then harangues in favour of the perfons who printed this libel, with intent to avert the indignation of the houfe; and this becaufe hee cannot fit filent and hear the refentment of that houfe, from men who countenance and proteciz thofe who bave reviled the revolution. And yet, this countenance and protection is that very tranfgreffion which he himfelf is at that moment committing, in defence of the printer, who he himfelf has denominated to be a like reviler of that revolution. Does not this fpirited conduct, and confiltency of principle, evince the foundnefs of his fenfe, and confirm "that there is fomething in his character very firiking?"

Let me now enquire into his reafons for fpeaking on this occalion. And thefe are, "that he cannot forbear remarking, on the indufiry and pains cmployed to paint the offence now flated in the moft
aggratuated colours." This paffage, I am apprehenfive, contains fome particulars, that neither Ariftote, nor Quintilian have enumerated among thofe qualities in an oration, that pronounce a man to be a moft refpectable fpeaker. Do painters fate an offence, or orators paint a ftate of it? and if they do, fhould it not be in the moft aggravated colouring, to preferve the metaphor, and make it coniftent with common fenfe and common Englifh ? will this pafs muter at Cambridge?

Having, in this manner, given his reafons for remarking on the induftry and pains of painting a flated offence, he now proceeds to deliver thofe, which are full as good, for averting the indignation of the :culfe from the author or publifher of the paper, which he denominates a libel. And thefe are the pitifulnefs of the obfcure fcribler, and the poverty and wretchednefs of the printer. Now, unlefs this orator be acquainted with this obfcure fcribler, by what means does he know that he is a pitiful author? it is true, indeed, if he beftow that epithet on him, on account of the manner in which that paper is written, the author of it is pitiful enough. And if we may determine from the Jpeaking, of an orator, what will prove to be the pitifulnefs of his writing, and that characteriftic is to be received as his protection from punifhment, the right honourable gentleman may fafely commence his written libels, whenever he will, and defy the indignation of the houle. At the fame time, it may not prove to be an evidence of the foundnefs of his fenfe, abfolutely to confide in that pitifulnefs for his fecurity. Becaufe, I apprehend, the law does not pay fo much attention to the pitifulnelf of the performance, as to the malicioufnefs and mifchief of the intention in the writer. And then, if he be as vehement and as contemprible

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in writing, as he is in fpeaking, he may chance to be as much derided as an author, as lie is as an orator, and to be punifhed for putting on paper, thofe very words, which, in the houife, he jpeaks with impunity. For it feems the good manners and jiberty of peech, allowable in that place, make that inoffenfive, which the law condemns as a libel in all others. So much would not have been faid on this head, had the author of the Sourh Briton been k nown.

With telation to the printers, I fincerely wifh their poornefs aird wretchednefs may teild to alleviate their fentence. For it would feem to be hard for them to fuffer greatly for printing fo pitiful a performance. I hope, therctore, their punifhment may prove as lenient as the laws can allow, and mercy dictate. For it uniformly appears that the feverity of infliction, in fuch cafes, like burning at a ftake for herefy, rather increafes the number of converts, than intinuidates from tranfgreffion. And as thefe pitiful fcriblers againft government, have either already committed, or are in the actual commifion of a literary felf-murder, sould wifh to fee them proceed with as little inter. aption as poffible, till, by their writings, they render themfelves incapable of making converts, to their caufe; and expire by their own handy-work; and in that manner put an end to writing and printing fuch miterable productims.

There is yer another reaton which this right honourable fpeaker is pleafed to offer, in order to avert the indignation of the houfe of commons. It is that "Jolinion and Shebbeare are now publickly carefled and penfioned, who have not only condemined the revolution, but have reviled the prince on the throne; have endeavoured to overturn the conftitution and the laws; and committed
offences he .jpeaks niners and make that libel in all id oll this enknown. erely wifh efid to alto be hard p pitiful a anifiment , and merhe feverity at à ftake $r$ of con-

And as nt, have Zual comld wifh to on as pofder themreir caufe; nd in that ting fuch right ho. order to commons. now pubnot only eviled the to overommitted offences

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offences little hort of treafon." Now I do not perceive, why this molt refpectable orator fhould be fo vehemently declamatory; nor on what he can ground his malediction of the minitry, for penfioning Dr. Johnton and myfelf; fince we have done, if he may be credited, the fame things only for which he is labouring to obtain an alleviation of refentment againit the printers of the South Briton? if to obfcure a fcribler, deferve to $\imath^{\text {- ipe from punifhment, for fo pitiful a perform- }}$ ance, does it not logically follow, that we ought to be rewarded for having executed fuch magnificent undertakings in the lame way?

However, neither Dr. Johnfon nor myfelf fhall prefume to avail ourfelves of this argument. On the contrary, we defy this moft refpectable member of found fenfe to adduce one inftance, in proof, that either of us hath endeavoured to overturn the conftitution and the laws, hath written a word againft the revolution, againft the religion of our country, or even to the prejudice of morality and good manners. And, if we had approached as nearly to treaton as he has to falfehood, in this charge againft us, I am afraid we mould deferve as much to be pue to death for what we have written, as he does, not to be credited for what he hath fooken, and then the Lord have mercy upon us.

Bur he fays, "we have reviled the prince on the throne." According to the context with the preceding part of the fentence, which mentions the revolution, this prince on the throne muft be king Willian, who was dead ten years before either of us was born. And this feems to make it fomewhat difficule to reconcile that paffage with common fenfe. Since it cannot be king William, it

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mult be his prefent majefty, who is the prince on the throne, whom we have reviled. But this fuppofition cannot ferve him either; becaufe he declares, that Dr. Johnfon hath traduced every ruin e fince the revolution, except his majefty: and of that offence, refpecting me, he fays nothing. But, confidering the prodigious merits of this fpeech, although the orator except his majefty, I am not perfectly convinced that he does not mean him. Now, unlefs this formidable member will explain in what manner we reviled king William on the throne, who was dead before we were born ; or how we can have reviled the prince on the throne, and yet not have reviled his prefint majefty, which he allows we have not, I hall never enjoy found fenfe enough to comprehend it. And if an explanation be attempted, it muft come from him, or no attention will be paid to it. This I defire to have confidered, nat only as an inftance of his adherence to truth, but of his confiftency in matter alfo.

The orator rifes in fublimity, and fpeaking of the libel, as he calls it, by way of foftening the indignation of the houfe, he fays, "a crime, however reprehenfible in itfelf, when compared with thofe, which he has naw mentioned; fcarcely worthy of their notice." I hefe words are too ele.vated, for the reach of my comprehenfion. Ido not conceive in what manner a crime can be, bowever, or in whatever degree, reprehenfible, and neverthelefs, by comparifon with another, become fcarcely worthy of notice, Suppofe, for example, the degree of criminality had mounted to treaton, which is one among the bowevers, would it have been reduced to a degree unworthy of notice, op being compared with thofe of Dr. Johnton and myr felf? which latter, as this mont formidable member his fupe he deevery ty : and nothing. of this ajefty, I lot mean ber will William re born; : on the majefty, oy found explanan , or no to have therence alfo.
aking of hing the e, howed with ely wartoo elen. Ido e, bow. $l e$, and become rample, treaton, it have ice, op nd mymem. ber

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ber has the goodnefs to grant, are "a little ßort of treafon?" might it not as juttly be faid, in whatever degree a cloth be black, the blackeft, for example, that it is fcarcely black, when compared with another, that is not quite fo black ? and then the unmerciful conclufion muft logically be, that the piece lefs black, is blacker than the blackeft.

This right honourable and moft refpectable member, however, difclaims, " all perfonal knowledge of either of us." For myfelf, I affure him, that the foundnefs of his fente, his prodigious merit, and his adherence to truth, have not created in me the leaft defire of being better acquainted with him. He then fays, "he is well informed I have a penfion." And for once he is not miftaken. "And that Dr. Johnfon's has been doubled fince he wrote the pamphlet," above alluded to. I winh he may be as well informed in that particular as in the preceding. And that fome one could truly inform him alfo, that mine will be doubled, for writing this pamplet. And in return, let the foundnefs of his fenfe, the vehemence'of his manner, and the formidablenefs of his oppofition be trebled. Let him let loofe his malediction, with its beft fluency, on me, and I fhall not be apprehenfive of being overwhelmed by that torrent. At length, he alks this queftion. "Are thefe then the men that are to be taken into the bofom of adminiftration, in order to be rewarded ?" Whether Dr. Johnfon be taken into that bofom or not, I know not; but as his penfion is doubled, 1 expect lord North will take me into the brcecbes pocket of adminittration, and that fhall content me.

I an now come to that fplendid Apoftrophe, intended'for Sir John Dalrymple, which, it feems,
will not foon'be forgiven at St. James's. "There are, fays he, fome perfons near me, defcendants of the illuftrious Sydney, and I have myfelf a drop of the Ruffel blood in me." And what do thefe two wonderful circumftances produce in him? they fend him to confeffion. "I confefs, fays he, I cannot therefore, fit filent and hear the reientment of this houfe poured upon an infignificant printer, at the inftigation of thofe who councenance, protect and encourage the men, who have attempted, in the moft cool and deliberate manner, to revile that revolution to which thofe heroes fo glorioufly paved the way." He cannot fit filent and hear the refentments of the houfe poured on an infignificant printer; but he muft exert his oratory in his favour ; becaufe the miniftry, I fuppofe, have countenanced, protected and encouraged Sir John Dalrymple, who has attempted to revile that revolution, to which thofe heroes fo glorioully paved the way. And thus this local proximity of Ruffel defcendants, and one drop of Sydney blood, have compelled him into an abfurdity unexampled. He hath poured forth his vehemence againft the miniftry, for their countenance of one who has only attempted to revile the revolution, in favour of another, whoas he has acknowledged, hath actually reviled that very revolution, in a libel before them. I take the force of argument, and the unmercifulnefs of the conclufion to be extremely tranfcendant in this inftance.

But there is yet another circumftance fingularly remarkable in this paffage. This member of found fenfe, is miftaken in the matter of fact. For Sir John Dalrymple hath rot attempted to revile the revolution, nor to defame thofe heroes, who may as juftly be faid to have glorioully paved the way to the new Jerufalem, as to the revolution. But let Sir

Sir John defend himfelf, refpecting his treatment of the revolution. As to Ruffel and Sydney, he ftands forth, in his Memoirs, their confpicuous panegyritt: It muft be allowed, indeed, that he has adopted a new mode of verifying facts in hiftory, by bringing indifputable authorities to difprove the trulb of them. And now I would advife this formidable orator to let that drop of Sydney blood out of his veins, if it have not already corrupted the whole mafs.- "It is a general rule, fays Mr. Bayes, that you muft ever make a fimile when you are furprifed." Now, as I am doubly furprified, on this occafion, before 1 proceed to offer my reafons, for advifing this moft formidable member in oppofition to let out this Sydney drop, I fhall explain, the two furprizes, and then bring two fimiles.

Firft furprize. That an orator fo refpectable, of fuch fourd fenfe, fo formidable in oppofition to the miniftry, with all the other great talents and qualifications mentioned in his character, fhould make fuch a fpeech as the preceding.

Second furprize. That any man, who had heard that ipeech, could have conceived the orator to be a perfon of fuch prodigious merit, fpirit, wit, eloquence, \&c. even when he is fluent.

Thefe fingular phænomena may receive a full explanation, by the fole circumftance of fuppofing the fipeaker and the panegyrift to be the fanie perfon; and then the frprizes ceafe. However that may be, I am neverchelefs refolved that my readers and the right honourable gentleman fhall have the two fimiles.
Firft fimile. If you put a calf's head in a pot and fet it on the fire, with the cover on, you will find, by degrees, that the heat below raifes the fcum
fcum to the furface, fets the pot a boiling, and drives that fcum, with a blubbering impertuofity, which atruggles for an explofion, between the por-lid and the pot; then thick and filthy it creeps down the footy fides of it. In this cale, the formidablenetis arifes from the danger of being fcalded, if we approach too near the vehemence of the fpluttering utenfil. This I take to be a pretty exact refemblance of the unmerciful orator, when he is not fluent.
Second fimile. If you place a barrel of new fmall beer on a dray, by the agitation of the vehicle, the fermentation vaftly encreafes, the dregs rife to the top, and the vehemence of the work* ing will fplit the cafk, unlefs you open the vent; then out fprings the foaming, turbid, fpiritefs liquor, rifes prodigiouny into the fublime, exhaufts its friky force, and on the veffel's fides flows fwiftly down. In this : ie, the formidablenefs arifes from the danger of being horridly befpattered if you approach too neir the cark. This I take to be the true refemblance of this refpelable orator, when he is fluent.

When the colonel, in the Committee, bids Teague to carry a meffage to Mrs. Day, who had been his father's cook-maid; the Irifhman tells his mafter that, on the fight of her, the pots and the fpits will come into his head, and the laugh upon his face, againft which the colonel gives him the ftrongeft injunction. In like manner, when this unmerciful orator fhall again harangue the houfe, I warn the commons neither to let the pot nor the fmall beer barrel to come into their heads, nor the laugh on their faces: But to behave with all due decorum to fo refpectable a member.

## Clamabit cacuus coram doctore orator.

Befides the preceding excellences, he is the foul of oppofition; has great elnquence, when he is fluent; more effectual, fiery, ipirited and commanding, in attacking a minifter, than any man; he is an unmerciful old Whig, and abhorrer of Tor: $:=$ and Jacobites; an orator of prodigious merit, great fpirit, wit, and as little mercy; whom lord North attempted to anfwer, but failed. Such, and fo formidable being the man, whom I have engaged, I Thall, in imitation of Sir John Falftaffe, to the prince of Wales, after he had killed a dead Percy, prefume to tell his lordhip, "that if he do me juftice fo; if not, let him demolifh che next unmerciful Tommy Townfhend himfelf. i look either to have iny penfion doubled, or a good place, I can affure him."

Having difpatched my animadverfions, furprizes, and fimiles, I fhall now proceed to affign my reafons for advifing the right honourable orator to let that drop of Sydney blood out of his veins. And to this inrent, I hall endeavour to give a faithful portrait of this glorious hero, Algernon Sydney; ia drop of whofe facred blood, like a faint's relique,

e was a iftracy, king tablifh$f$ Eng. eremogrees of iry conavowed which efteem, ave en: kings thority he fole a right gns, to d ftate; nlefs he ot high
ciples fo abfird and impracticable. Inftigated by the fame pertinacioufinefs of democratic fury, and prefbyterian fanaticifm, he united with P.anifegod Acrebones, and his rump, under a folemn obligation to accomplifl the exclution of kings, protectors, nobles and the church of England.

At the reftoration, he was excepted amongft the regicides, as a man incompatible by his hatred to the confititution, and as irreconcileable to a king in allegiance by any att of kindnefs. On bis folicitation to Henry Saville, ambaffador in France, to interfere in procuring him liberty to return to England, he was fuffered to revifit his native land; and obtained his pardon from Charles the fecond. Notwithftanding this act of mercy, in the king, and withour his having performed a fingle att, during his exile, which might merit this forgivenefs, 'he immediately became a traitor to that very prince; and an agent of the king of France, in order to promote the defigns of that monarch, and to oppofe thofe of his lawful fovereign. And to this flagitions purpofe he was purchafed by a penfion, paid him by Barilion, the French ambaffador at the cuirt of England. This treachery, which was furfeetted during his life; hath been lately verified by indifputable authorities, taken from the letters of Barillon, preferved in the proper place of depofiting fuch records in France. And in 2 letter of Sydney to Henry Savil!, who, like him, was a repubican, and a traitor to his maller, it is fo far confirmed as to fhew, that both Sydney and Saville were fecretly intriguing with the French courr, againft their fovereign : for in that letter he fays, "" you know Monfeur de Barillon governs us if, be be not miftaken." Let the man who glories in H 2 having

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having one drop of Sydney blood in him, explain this paffage to any purpofe but the former, if he cans.

Not fatisfied with this treachery and ingratitude to the king, whofe lawful authority he acknowledged, by accepting pardon and life from his hands, he, with the lords Shafibury, Rufel, and others, became the patrons and abettors of the enormous perjuries of Titus Oates, refpecting a Popin plot againft the king's life. The mott groundlefs, malicious, and inhuman machination, that ever villains invented or fupported. By this infernal fiction not lefs than twenty men, entirely innocent of the charge, peribed by the hands of the pnblic executioner; among whom was the aged and virtuous lord Stafford. This nefarioulnefs being accomplifhed, Sydney, with the lords Ruffl, Effex, Howard, Grey, together with Sir Thomas Armftrong, Ferguion the Preßbyterian teacher, Rumfey, Rumbold, Nelthorpe, Wade, Goodenough, Walcot, Thomion, Burton Hone, and a few more, prefumed themfelves to be the people of England: pronounced that the king nad, by his maladminiftration, forfeited his right to reign; and therefore, that it was lawful to dethrone him by any means whatever. And, with that intent, they entered into a confpiracy to take arms, and to affafinate their fovereign, Such were the natural effects of thofe principles which thefe men efpoufed. And is there not fomething funilar that feems to prevail, at prefent? do not the aldermen Wilkes, Crofby, Bull, and Sir Watkin Lewes, together with the bill of rights men; the aldermen Sawbridge, Townhend, Oliver, Catharine Macauley, and the conftitutional fociety ; together with a majority of the common council, the livery of London, and the mob of Newcaftle, the

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the men of tender confcience, and the Antiarticularians of the Feathers Tavern, prefiume to be the whole people of England at this day? and as their principles are the fame with republicans and regicides, is it not neceffary to be watchful of their actions?

The plot being difcovered, Sydney was apprehended, tried, found guilty, and beheaded. And although the law may have been unjuftly ftrained, in converting the papers, which were found in his clofet, to a fecond evidence againt him, becaufe this proof, the crime of high treafon undoubtedly de.. mands: and which can never be violated, but by the outrage of an unmerciful and unjuft judge. And altho' Sydney were not lawfully put to death, yet is there a man, now living, who believes he was not engaged in this confpiracy, to take away the life of that king, who gave bim his, and therefore that he deferved his fate? perfons of upright hearts will molt certainly condemn and detelt the magiftrate; but can that violence, on one lide, exculpate the criminality on the other? was Sydney in fact the more to be pitied as a traitor, becaufe he fuffered by the lentence of the unjuft and cruel Jefferies? And permit me to ank, that, fince no argument can palliate this illegal execution, even of a guilty man, what have the Whigs of kin? William's reign to offer in their excufe, who, hrough deficiency of a fecond witrefs, made an exprefs law of attainder, to put Sir John Fenwick to death; againll whom nothing can be faid, that. will not be equally applicable to Algernon Sydney.

Such was this heroic Sydney, by principle, a republican; by practice, a rebel; by intention, a regicide; and, in all, a fanatic vifionary. His doctrine, refpecting the tight of the people to oppofe their fovereigns in arms, to judge, depofe,
and put them to death, if they be futtainable in any ftate; and on the utmoft emergencies; are fuch as are the molt caufelefsly promulged in this kingdom. For, by this conftitution, the minifter is anfwerable for the conduct of public affairs, the people have their reprefentatives, and they are, by their duty and their office, obliged to fuperintend the adminiltration of the realm. They are the grand inqueft of the kingdom, and bound to impeach the perpetrators of national mifchief. The lords are the higheft court of juftice, before whom minifterial offenders are legally to be brought: and it is their duty to try, to acquit, or to find them guilty. And laftly, the king has the power of life and death, to pardori or to confirm the fentence.

Hence it is evident, that, in all cafes of public malverfation, the people have, at firf, a right only to apply to their reprefentatives for redrefs of grievances. If they neglect their duty, it is againft them, who are their fervants, that refentment ought to be exerted. But if thefe impeach the minifter, before the houfe of lords, and the latter refufe or evade the claims of juftice; it is againt them the people have then their right of manifetting their indignation. If this high tribunal acquit the impeached minitter, there the affair muft legally relt. If they find him guiley, and the king refufe to fign his fentence, or pardon him unmeriting it; then, and then only, the people can claim the leaft right of appealing to their lovereign, in fearch of juftice; when if it be refuled, and the caufe be worthy of fuch purfuit, they may feek redrefs by thofe means which God has given them.

But in all fuch cales, nothing but a certain majority of the people can properly apply to their reprefentatives; and a majority of their reprefentatives ninifter irs, the are, by rintend are the to im . The e whom rought: id them $r$ of life rence. public a right drefs of ; againft entment ach the and the $e$; it is right of igh trihere the guilty, or parhly, the to their refufed, nay feek in them. ain matheir rentatives
to the houfe of lords; a denial of juftice, on their part, can alone vindicate the people in feeking from them redrefs; and then on that of the fovereign, before the people can juftifiably take arms againtt him.

And now we can alcertain by what means that hero, fo glorioully paved the way to the revolution. By rebelling againt Charles the firt; fubverting the conftitution in church and ftate and approving the murder of that fo rereign. By engagr ing with the rump pariament, to govern wichout a king or houfe of lords. By becoming the penfiened traitor of Lewis the fourteenth; and entering into a confpiracy againtt the life of that king, who had given him bis. By being tried, found guilty, and executed for rebellion. Such is the hero and coulin of the refpectable member; fuch are the deeds for which. he ftiles him glorious. And thefe, I fhould think, can form but a fcurvy pavement to the revolution. Are thefe the true old whiggith principles alfo, for which he is remarkable? and let me tell this coufin Tommy, that his hero feems to have entertained no favourable opinion, either of the intentions or abilities of King William, For, in a letter to Saville, p. 46, he fays, "I long fince found that the defign of fending H. Sydney into Holland, was like the reft of Sir William Temple's projects; a matter of great depth, and kept to clofe, that not one of them would fpeak to me of it ; but this day was a fe'ennight, a gentleman that came to fee me, took a letter out of his pocket, newly come from Holland, wherein the whole end of his negotiation is fet out very plainly; which, in hhort, is underftood to be no more, than under a pretence of a guaranty, to draw Holland and Spain into a league with England; which may help
help the prince of Orange with an occafion of breaking the peace lately made; which, I belizve, will take effect, if the Firench can be perfuaded to Neep three months, and take no notice of it; if the Loveftein party, in Holland, and their affociates, can be brought to believe the prince of Orange thinks of advancing no intereft but the pub. lic good of bis country, and if our houle of commons can be fo well fatisfied with the maragement of the laft bufinefs in Flanders, as to be willing to raife a new army, under the fame conduct; and to believe one that is fo raifed, will conduce to the defence of Flanders as much as the laft."

From this opinion of the prince of Orange, conjoined with the democratic fanaticifm of Sydney's does it not appear extremely probable, that if he intended to pave the way to a revolution, it was of a different sind from that of placing king William on the throne of thefe realms? for fuch was the temper of all thofe implacable contenders for liberty, that, when once they had rifen above the lawful authority of the king, by the arms of an infatuated populace, they never inagined themfelves in real liberty, till thofe very people were fubdued to an impracticability of oppofing them. In this manner, thefe fearchers of the lord and liberty, obtained an afcendant over one another, as the prelbyterian and the independent rebelsoccafionally prevailed, till abfolute power, in order to obtain an abfolutefreedom, for himfelf alone, centered in Oliver Cromwel, and that the foul of Sydney was of the fame form is evidently feen in Thurloe's memoirs. Such was the beroic Algernon, one drop of whofe blood the unmerciful Tommy Townfhend fo much efteems. On this account, will not that right honourable gentleman exhibit a fronger indication
fion of pelieve, aded to it; if ir affoince of the pub. f com: agement illing to and to to the
ge, conSydney, at if he $t$ was of ng Wiluch was ders for ove the is of an emfelves fubdued In this liberty, ; as the afionally btain an din Oli. as of the nemoirs. f whofe fo much right hodication of of found fenfe and fpirited conduct, in letting out, than preferving, that rebellions drop? and when he charged Dr. Johnfon and me with endeavouring to overturn the conlititution, and the laws; and with o.fences little flort of treaton; did he not deviate into the moff flagrant inconffitency, to value his confanguinity with Algernon Sydney, whom he denominates a glorious hero, for having perpetrated crimes egregioufly more enormous than thofe of which he falfely accules us? does this abfurdity, in that formidable orator, ipring from fhare ignorance ? or from what motive, whillt he is labouring to reprefent $u$ s to be little lefs than traitors, dees he eftimate himfelf fo highly for his alliance wich Algernon Sydncy, than whom no hiftory bas yet produced a more fanguinary and ungrateful traitior ; not to his fovereigns only, but to the conltitution of his country alfo? does not this condemmation of Dr. Johnfon and myfelf originate in his botom, becaufe we have fhewen our allegiance and duty to his prefent majefty, by our writings; and the fenfeléfs effufion of his panegyric proceed from the like principles, whicli aftuated the rebel heart of his heroic coufin Sydney?
1 have now done with this moft refpectable member, and his Sydney drop. I fhall now proceed to examine the fpeech of counfellor Lee, a gentleman in whom the niceft ballance cannot determine whether modefty or argument do moit preponderate. This fpeech was inferted in the Public Ledger, the 12th of July, and delivered on the trial of the printers for that very paper which engendered that very fpeech of prodigious merit, which bluftered from the oratoric lips of the fornidable fipeaker, already mentioned, We all know that a dog will return to his own vomit, but

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not to that of anotber. On this occafion, this learned and modeft advocate returns to lick up the filthy fcum, or foaming muddy and firitiefs fmall beer that fell from the moft refpectable orator, and fpews it out once more in defence of the fame printers, in a fecond fpeech of equally prodigious merit. Among others, he is pleafed to favour me with one fhort paffage of his matchlefs harangue. "Such a fellow as Shebbeare, after grofsly traducing the molt illuftrious character of the age, and reviling in almoft direct terms, the revolution, he we find rewarded with a penfion." Now I am really at a lofs, to comprehend whom he intends by that defcription of the moft illuftrious chacacter of the age: and, therefore, until he fhall be pleafed to name the perfon, and prove him to be that illuftrious character, 1 fhall not attempt to vindicate myfelf from the charge of traducing him. But what fuch a fellow as Lee can mean, by my reviling, in almoft direct terms, the revolution, I cannot comprehend: becaufe, in the fixth letter to the people of England, for which I fuffered, it is faid of the revolution, "I mult recur to thefe times, when James the fecond was exiled from thefe realms : it will be neceffary to remind you, what were the honourable difpolitions of Englifh men, the happy ftate and condition of your commerce and taxes at that hour. At that time, the love of liberty and their conftitution truely animated the natives of England to oppofe the ufurpation of unlawful power in the fovereign and his minifters: then it was that zeal for the eftablifhed faith, infpired your bifhops to refift every attempt upon your religion : then it was you were a brave and honourable people: then it was that two millions fupplied the annual expences in time

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of war: then it was you paid only four Millings taxes in every twenty, which you fpent, which are now rifen to fourteen. Such was your blifsful ftate when James was driven hence, and William and Mary mounted the throne of their father, and of thefe realms: a fituation, which no other ftate in Europe could poffels; becaufe not bleffed with fuch natural advantages." And now I appeal to the world, whether Tommy Townfhend and fuch a fellow as Lee, have not afferted a whole falfehood, when they fay, "I have reviled, in almoft direct terms, the revolution?"

It is true, indeed, if thefe orators mean by the revolution, the mifchiefs that were produced by thofe minitters who engaged this nation in an expenfive and unfuccefsful war, to fupport the interefts of the Dutch; who fpread univerfal corruption through the parliament; purchafed the members to exhautt the treafure, and lavifh the blood of their fellow-fubjects, encreafed their taxes, raifed the prices of the neceffaries of life, and mercilefsly mortgaged them and their pofterity for the payment of thole immenfe fums which they fquandered for alien interefts, and to enrich themtelves; then, indeed, that fellow Lee might have left out his almof. And if expofing fuch enormous iniquities be reviling the revolution. I have reviled it, and glory in that act.

There are, in Italy, a fet of men, known by the name of banditti, who feem to poffefs a drop of the Sydney blood, and to be actuated by whiggifh principles. Their occupation conlifts in robberies, and murder, and they claim the right of perpetrating fuch execrable actions under the name of liberty of confcience. Whenever it happens that thefe formidable and unmerciful gen-

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tlemen of prodigious merit are difcovered, and in danger of being apprehended, they ly to that church for a lanctuary, whofe holy ordinances they have conftantly violated, and into which they have never entered, but for the fake of committing facrilege, 'till that nioment' of lecking fafety from the hands of public jultice. In like manner, this fellow Lee and vethers who have been educated in whiggilh principles, and all thole praetices which have fucceeded the expulfion of James the fecond, fly to the revolution, as to an alylum from the deteftation which attends their mifdeeds; and thank God for having been bred in fuch principles, as never can legitimately produce fuch practices as they purfue: and thus they would fanctify themfelves by a zecrd inapplicable to them and their actions, without a violation of every idea that originally attended it, and hardily hold up their faces againt truth itfelf. So much for the modefty of Mr. Lee; I fhall now proceed to the argumentative part of his fpeech, in defence of tis clients. It is that becaufe I receive a penlion, the printers were to efcape conviction. If this could have anfwered that purpofe, I mould have had no objection to it. But ought not that learned advocate to have reflected before he felected this argument from Tommy the orator, that whillt he was bringing me as a penfioner, before the courr, which as he was not pleading for a penlion for his client, did not promife to be of much fervice to his caufe; he muft inevitably recall me as a perfon that had been punifhed for a libel, from which accufation it was his duty to defend his client. By that fingular and ufeful mode of defence, did he not produce a precedent that operated in diametrical oppofition to that end, to which his rhetoric fhould have folely tended? from inner, ciated etices es the from ; and siples, ces as chemir accinally gaint .ee ; I art of that ere to wered to it. eflect. pmyy as a as not
pro; he been it was r and a preon to folely ded?
tended? a confiftency of arguing which he has imitated alio from the refpectable Iommy Townihend.

Mr. Lee now rifes to the very fummit of the fublime, and gives us an inftance of his oratoric powers, fuch as is not to be found either in Longinus, or Mr. Burke. "Ruffel, Sydney, and other ornaments of human nature, have not efcaped the traductory malice of a libeller. In a book called Memoirs of Great Britain, they are moft outrageoully defamed." I have already fhewn what an amazing ornament Sydney was to human nature. From this vehement effulion of ill-timed panegyric in Mr. Lee; may not the world be inclined to conclude, either that his woble body is filled with Sydney blood; or his whole foul with fimilar principles? which, if it be, may their fimilitude be continued to the end, and his exit like that of him whom he fo rapturouly pronounces to be an ornament to human nature; the moft certain way in which this gentleman can be exalted to a like diftinction among polferity.

Mr . Lee continues. "Not that I blame an hiftorian for iaying facts before his readers, but I blame him for prejudging a caufe by preliminary remarks of his own; yet this is the cale of the compiler of the book in queltion; he prefaces his anecdotes with a prejudication of characters; and he fays, that when the forse of truth compelled him to prejudge them, he felt as a father $\because$ ould do whofe fon had cowardly turned his back in the day of battle."

Now it fo happens, that in all this prodigious explofion of rhetorical refentment againft Dalrymple, there is not one fyllable of truth. ift, That writer, in his Memoirs, is fo far from being a traductory or malicious libeller, who has moft
outrageounly defamed both Ruffel and Sydney, that he has adopted the opinion of Whigs and Prefbyterians, and is manifettly the encomialt of thote two men. 2d, The words which Mr. Lee recites are not thofe of the hiltorian. Thele are, "when I found in the French difpatches lord Ruffel, intriguing with the court of Verlailles; and Algernon Sydney taking money from it, I felt very near the fame fhock, as if 1 had feen a fon turn his back in the day of battle." Where then are the preliminary remarks of prejudging? where dors he fay the force of truth compelled him to prejudge? 3 d , Thefe preliminary were pofterior renarks, and were not printed in a preface to the memoirs ; and therefore could be no prejudication of the characters, unlefs that which follows precedes the thing which it fucceeds. They were printed in a preface to the fecond volume, containing a collection of tate papers, including indubitable facts, two years after the memoirs had been publifhed. And thus it happens that the cafe, which Mr. Lee blames, has no exiftence ; and that, which he approves, is the real cafe. To what then is this truthlefs exhibition of Mr. Lee to be attributed? to his modeft affurance, which incontinently prompts him to utter every kind of defamation againft thofe whom he pleafes - to traduce! is his :gnorance, which precludes him from the underftanding of what he reads, which has miftaken the true flate for the falle, the preface of the fecond volume, for that of the firlt; and pui that in the front which follows in the rear? or to his love of veracity, which uniformly inclines him to reprefent things as chey are not? it muft be allowed, however, that in the act of fpeaking great words, to no purpore, this gentleman
tleman has exhibited a fpecimen of prodigious merit.

Mr. Let perfeveres. "But we fee no notice taken, no complaint made of a book wherein the characters of men, hitherto deemed an honour to their country, are traduced and villified; their defunEZ manes are impiouny infulted, their living defcendants are baiely difhonoured." What notice Mr. L.ee would have had taken, or complaint made againft a book, which contains nothing but the moft authentic documents of truth, he may explain if he can. And if the characters of thofe he mentions have hitherto been deemed an honour to their country, it has been by rebels, regicides, republicans, Whigs, Prefbyterians, and fuch fellows as Lee. And, according to that orator, it is an impious intiult on their defunct manes to prove, that Sydney was a rebel, a regicide of one king, a fubverter of the conftitution, a penfioned traitor of France, and a confpirator againft the life of another king, who gave that Sydney the privilege of living in his native country. What a bleffed idea of impiouinefs is generated in the conceptions of this advocate and his affociates! and if their heroes be traduced and villified, it is not by Sir John Dalrymple, but by truth herfelf; if fuch calumny be applicable to what the delivers. And if their living deficendants be difhonoured, it is by the demerits only of their dead anceftors.

But this illuftrious advocate is even more unmerciful than the formidable Tommy Townfhend. For lie has pur to death that which never dies. The manes of Ruffel and Sydney are defunct. The foul which furvives the body is dead. This is, indeed, an infliction on thefe two heroes; moft $u n$ merciful, indeed. Counfellor Lee has flain immortality
mortality itfelf, and pur the very fouls of Ruffi and Syndey to death; a cruelty as much beyond that with which they were bodily infinted, as the deprivation of a life for a few years is inferior ta that of eternity.

Mr. Lee now tells us, "that, fince his advance to riper years, he had well weighed the matter, and could not help looking upon William and Mary as princes endowed vith every public virtue, which could render them deferving of a throne; and every private virtue which fhould endear them to their fubjects." I have no inelination to alter this manner of thinking, in this admirable orator: notwithftanding which, I fhall prefume to declare that, be their virtues ever fo great, the fame virtues are to be as juftly atiributed to his prefent majefty and his queen. And I would gladly know from what motives this ardent allegiance to dead kings, and fuch malevolent invectives heaped on me for having, as they fay, reviled them, can proceed. On what account, their former fovereigns are fo extolled, and I am conltantly brought back to punifhment? but fuch is the truth, thefe violences are prt committed on me, becaufe I have tracuced deac fovereigns, as they affert; but becaufe I will not rewile the living. From this fource fprings that ftream of calumny which they have turned in upon me. Had I continued the libeller they report me, their approbation would then be equal to their prefent flander; I might have received the glorious appellation of a patriot ; and have bcen an illuftrious chairman at the bill of rights. But let me be expofed a thoufand times on the pillory, and fent to prifon, for fuch deeds as 1 have already fuffered, rather than be doomed to the principles of fuch men,
men, and to prefiding in their chair; for this would be infamy indellible.

Counfellor Lee has, indeed, given us his opinion of the princes, William and Mary, without favouring the public with his reafons for adopting it. I have given mine, alfo, refpecting his prefenc majefty, and his royal confort. I will not reft my fentiments on affertion, but prefume to compare the public and the private virtues of the princes, on the throne, with thofe of the former pair, and leave the world to determine, in whom they are she moft exalted ; and whether I be not as perfectly juftified, in this fentiment, as Mr. Lee and all his confederates of fimilar education and principles can be in theirs. With this view, I thall begin with thofe tranfactions which have been imputed to his majefty as criminally adminittered, expofe the futility and falfehood of fuch imputations; bring inftarces of ilmilar events, in the reign of king William, and then defy Tommy Townihend, Lee, and all of old whiggifh principles to refute what I thall deliver, or to fuggeft that their prefent majefties are not as juftly entitled to the encomium of public and of private virtues, as thofe princes whom they fo much extol.

1. The firf imputation of offence, in his majefty, is that of favouritifm to lord Bute. That nobleman was born a Britifh fubject. By that birth, he is equally entitled, with all others, to diftinetions in poft and place. By his conduct, near his majefty, when prince of Wales, he acquired his efteem and affection, and received the effects of them, when the crown devolved on his head. This favourite received no diftinetivemarks from his fovereign beyond that of the order of the garter, and a peerage for his lady.

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1. Let me now thew the effects of favouritifin, in the reign of king William. Bentinck, a foreigner, was raifed from being a gentleman of the bed-chamber to the prince of Orange, to an earl and marquis of England. He was prefented with five parts in fix of the whole county of Denbeigh, with 135,820 acres of the forfeited eftates in Ireland; with large donations of land in England, and was, in fact, the fole minitter. Keppel, another favourite, a Dutchman, and page to the king, was made eari of Albemarle, honoured with the order of the garter, and prefented with 108,633 acres of the lrifh forfeitures. Ginckle, a Dutchman, was created earl of Athlone. Rouvigny, a French retugec, earl of Galway. Thefe were prefented with portions of the fame lands; the former with 26,480 , and the latter with 36,148 acres. Elizabeth Villiers, a female favourite, was made countefs of Orkney, and pretented with 95,649 acres of king James's private eftate in lreland, of the yearly income of 25,995 l. On thefe, and a few others, were beltowed, in acres, $1,060,792$, -in rent, 211,223 l.-in value, clear of all incumbrances, $1,699,3+3 l$. Such was the account delivered into parliament, by the commiffioners, who were fent to examine into that affair, previous to the refumption, and as ratified by the houfe of commons.
2. Lord Bute was inhumanly abufed for making, and his majefty for figning the laft treaty of peace with France. And yet, at this time, the expences of the laft year amounted to more than 20,000,000l. including debts incurred and tums for the current year, that were raifed without a loan. Thefe were borrowed on new taxes, and the debts were not difcharged till after the peace. The premium alio for procuring this money amounted to
more than thirty per cent. the funds were funk to fixty-five ; and a bankruptcy imminently hung over the Itate, which, in all probability, would have fallen on it, had the war, with all poffible fuccefs, continued two years longer, by which many thoufands of the fubjects had inevitably been reduced to the utmoft diftrefs. 'This peace was approved by parliament; and by that treaty the nation acquired feveral iflands of great value in the Weft-Indies, the extenfive province of Canada, and a number of loyal fubjects to oppofe the rebellious intentions of the democratic fectaries in America, whofe infolence has excited them not only to determine what merchandife fhall be imported into that part of his majefty's dominions; but to throw into the rivers whatever they difapprove, when it arrives: and to treat with barbarous outrage their fellowfubjects who fhall difcharge their duty, by carrying them to that country, from this kingdom.
3. King Willians entered into a treaty of alliance with the Emperor, Englifh, Spanifh, Italian and Dutch, wherein they proteft, betore God, that they will not make peace with Lewis the fourteenth until he had made reparation to the Holy See, and until he had annulled all his infamous proceedings againft boly fatber Innocent the eleventh, and reftored to the proteftants of France all their poffeffions, and an entire liberty of confcience. And the proteftants were therein invited to rebel, and threatened with deftruction if they did not join them in arms againtt their lawful fovereign. Notwithftanding this iolemn affeveration king WilJiam deferted the Emperor, and concluded a feparate peace. The pope was fatisfied, and the French proteftants, whom he had excited to rebellion, were fcandalouny left to the refentnient of Lewis the fourteenth; and their confciences at full liberty K 2

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to continue their rebellions, without a fyllable being ftipulated in their favour in that treaty, which king William had folemnly protefted before God, not to cpnclude before their liberties and poffeffions were reftored, and their religion tolerated in France. The fame king concluded the partition treaty, with Lewis the fourteenth, by the negotiation of Bentinck, an alien, without laying it before either the parliament, or even the privy-council. For the execution of this, the lord chancellor Somers, of old whiggifh principles, in obedience to a letter from kingWilliam, fent full powers and blank papers into Holland, to which he had affixed the great feal of England, without communicating it to the other lords of the regency, or the privy-council, in order that the king might infert what terms, and appoint what commiffioners he pleafed. By this treaty, during the life of the Spanih fovereign, he prefumed to diftribute his dominions, and thereby infidioully conveyed, together with his territories, the fubjects of that monarch to other princes, after his deceafe; as a Jamaica planter does his lands and his negroes to the perfon to whom he transfers his effects. And this unheard-of violation on fovereigns and fubjects, and even on the rights of human nature, was tranfacted without the knowledge of that prince, and that people who were thus difpofed of. This treaty produced a new war, which coft this ftate, and encreafed the national debt fo many millions during the reign of queen Anne.
3. The miniftry feized John Wikes and his papers, by a general warrant; fent him prifoner to the tower, from whence he was difcharged aften a confinement of three days; and for which, by à verdict, he received four thoufand pounds from Iord Hallifax, then fecretary of ftate.

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3. King William; when prince of Orange ${ }_{3}$ arrefted the earl of Fevertham, for no other offence than that of bringing him a letter from king James, who sas then in England: and afterwards upon furpicion only from intercepted letters, took into cuftody the earl of Arran, Sir Robert Hamilton, and fent chem prifoners to the tower, which Tindal allows to be illegal, the rights of the fubjects being thereby infringed, and the habeas corpus act violated. And to obviate all profecutions, for fo heinous an outrage on Englifh liberty, an act of indernnity, for thofe who advifed it, was paffed in the fubfequent feffions of parliament. During his reign, and all others, even to the time in which Mr. Wilkes was apprehended, general warrants, and feizing papers, were conftantly in practice; except in the latter part of queen Ann's reign, when the Tories, calumniated as enemies to liberty, were in adminiftration; after which, the practice was revived and continued. It was by a general warrant I and my papers were feized, when lord Chatham was prime minitter. And when I objected to the illegality of the proceding, another warrant was delivered me three days after I 'had been in cuftody; but being deferted by thofe who ought to have affited me, I was rendered incapable of feeking redrefs by law.
4. Another imputation of criminality was, that of the houfe of commons, expelling John Wilkes, efq; after he had been duly elected by the freeholders of Middlefex. John Wilkes, efq; at the time of his election, was an outlaw, and twenty thoufand pounds lefs worth than a hilling. He was thereby difqualified to enjoy every right of a Britifh fubject, and of poffeffing any property in the kingdom, had there been any which remained for him to poffefs. On that ac-

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count, he could not be elected but with a violation of the conftitution and the laws. Under thefe circumftances, it was a culpable lenity not to have fined the fheriff who returned him: and Proctor and Cook were in fact the legal members. On his re-election, when the outlawry was reverfed, he was again expelled and difqualified from fitting in that parliament. This was done for writing a libel on Jord. Weymouth. Precedents in point are to be feen in the journals of the houfe of commons. Dr. Parry and Arthur Hall were both expelled and difqualified for libels. Added to all this, Mr. Wilkes had been previoully found guilty of four libels; three againft God, and one againft his king. Had he been permited to have fat, as a nember, in that parliament, his privilege would have fecured him from all punifhment, as the offence of a libel is not one of thofe, which, by law, will authorife the commitment of a member of the commons to a prifon. The caufe of God and the king demanded that the privilege of the houfe fhould not protect him from punifhment for fuch heinous iniquities.
4. On king James's abdication, a few men, unelected by the people, and at the exclufion of all others, were called together by the prince of Orange. Thefe transferred the adminiftration of public affairs into his hands, advifed him to call a convention, though not yet a king; and this convention deprived king James of all future right to reafcend the throne of the three kingdoms. Was this an object of lefs confideration than the affair of John Wilkes? had fuch a convention a precedented right of expelling one king for ever, and of putting another on histhrone; and had the commons of England, after numberlefs precedents, no right

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to expel and to difqualify John Wilkes from fitting in parliament, for the duration of feven years only? whatever fubject, after the depofing of king James, to whon, he had fworn allegiance, thould prefume to attempt his reftoration, that man was a rebel, by the laws, and executed as a traitor. But the freeholders of Middlefex dared to re-elect John Wilkes, and petition the king to diffolve the parliament, for not admitting their hero to fit among them. I conclude, that the maladminiftration of king James jultly drew upon him the fate he fuffered. And I have hitherto difcovered no reaton to think, that Mr. Wilkes had any right to have been treated with fo fingular a favour, as to be received after difqualification.
5. Another caule of calumny was the king's refufing to comply with the London, the Middlefex, and a very few other peritions, to diffolve the parliament; becaule the freeholders of that coun$t y$, and the people, were not fairly reprefented; and as Mr. Wilkes was fairly elected, and not permitted to fit in the houfe, it was an unlawful parliament. A multiplicity of other particulars, as fallacioully grounded, were included in thefe petitions; and then his majefty was requefted to difmifs his minifters from his councils and prefence for ever. The firt was an object that could not conftitutionally come before his majefty; becaufe it is an eftablihed maxim, that a king of Great Britain cannot attend to any reprefentation of what may pais in the houle of commons, without it come directly from that houfe. To the other objects of their remonftrance, had they really exitted, his prerogative could not lawfully extend. And even she very act of thus petitioning, addreffing, and remonitrating, by a lord mayor, and part of the London

London carporation, to difmifs a miniftry on the hardinefs of their affertion only, was an infolence unexampled, and a moft culpable temerity.
6. The commons refolve to addrefs king Wib liam to iffue a proclamation for the apprehending of Ludlow, the regicide, then in England. The king delays his compliance therewith, until he knew him to be fafely arrived in Holland. They again wait on his majefty with their refolution, refpecting the refumption of the forfeited lands in Ireland, with which the king, by an equivocating anfwer, evades his compliance; and it is obtained, at laft, by being tacked to a money bill, from which he was afraid to withhold his affent. The commons refolved to addrefs his majefty, that no perfon, who was not a native of his dominions, except the prince of Denmark, be admitted to his councils in England or Ireland. To prevent this addrefs, and to preferve his foreign favourites from being excluded, the king fuddenly prorogues the parliament.

The commons petition the king to remove the earls of Portland, Somers, Halifax, and Orford, from his councils; for having advifed the partition treaty. The king evades an anfwer. They are impeached by the commons, for high crimes and mifdemeanours. Somers, for having affixed the great feal of England to full powers for concluding a peace, without the commiffioners being named, or the conditions of the peace made known to him ; and to blank-papers, to be filled up by the king and Bentinck, as his majefty might pleafe. This was done without communicating the affair to the reft of the londs-juftices, or advifing with the privy council. By the king's influence in the houte of lords, a quarrel arofe berween shem and

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the commons about the time of bringing the impeached lords to trial. The houfe of lords arbitrarily appoint a day before the commons are prepared. The latter object to that proceeding, as unconftitutionai; and refufe to attend on that day. Lord Somers and the others are brought to trial before the lords, in Weftminfter Hall, at which time, the commons not appearing to carry on the impeachment, the trial does not proceed, and the offenders are thereby acquitted. Such was the event of that enormous crime of affixing the l great feal of England, previous to the contents, which were to be inferted in the papers; and thereby imparting an authority to the king, of ratifying, without the knowledge and confent of the privy council, whatever might be deftructive to the welfare of this kingdom. Such did that very partition treaty prove to be. It produced a long and expenfive war to fupport the Dutch, which wafted rivers of blood, and millions of our treafure, leaving the nation with their debts encreafed from

- 17 millions, at the death of king William, to 52 millions, at the death of queen Anne.

6. Extending the prerogative makes no inconfiderable figure among the calumnies againft his prefent majefty. And this was founded on the moft humane and moft laudable act of royalty; a proclamation, whereby his majefty prohibited the exportation of corn, at a time when the price was enormous, and the people in danger of a famine. Had it been delayed till the parliament had met, which could not have been in lefs than forty days, that time might have proved to be fufficient for the unrelenting lult of gain to have exported half the grain of the kingdom, and to have reduced the people to the utmoft diftrefs. To this L
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exertion of the prerogative roval, I am fully convinced, his majefty is jutly entitled. But had he not, it was of luch a nature, that every man of fenfibility for the miferies of his fellow-fubjects, muft have applauded the royal beneficence.
6. King William exerted his prerogative, in another way. He refufed to give the royal affent to the bill $\mathrm{f} r$ triennial parliaments, and to another, for excluding placemen and penfioners from the houfe of commons. And when the houfe addreffed him, on that fubject, he evaded the intention of that addrefs, by an equivocal anfwer. When the commons were preparing to impeach Trevor and others, for receiving bribes, and being guilty of moft notorious corruptions, the king defeated that affair by a fudden prorogation of parliament. By his prerogative, he granted to the Eaft India company the right of feizing the goods and Ships of all other fubjects, who might prefume to trade in any parts beyond the Cape of Good Hope. By this charter, the natives of England were refçinded from their conititutional rights, that had been granted by Magna Chan, which expressly mentions the privilege of trading in all parts of the globe. Befides this abolition of that privilege refpecting Englifhmen, the Dutch, and all other aliens whatioever, were entitled to become members of that company. To that company king Willian granted not only the legifative power of making what laws they pleafed; but the executive alfo, of appointing their own judges in India. And thereby the two moft incongruous powers were united that can fubfift in the fame community ; an union totally fubverfive of freedom, of the fecurity of life and poffefions, and repugnant to the conititution of England. Befides this,
this fretch, a power was given to the king, and paffed intoa law by the repreientatives of the people, by which his majelty might eftablifh whatever rules, qualifications, and appointments, in that charter; he might think reafonable. Such was the unlimited and unwarrantable authority then imparted to king William, by the deleg ted guardians of the rights and privileges of Englifmmen; unexampled in its extent and nature, but by that law, which, in the reign of Henry the eighth, transferred an authority to the proclamations of that tyrant equal to the ftatutes of the realm.
7. When the civil magiftrate was called on to, preferve the peace, and to read the riot act, to a lawlefs mob, met in St. George's Fields, with an apparent intention of refcuing John Wilkes, efq; from prifon; and a fmall part of the foldiery was thought neceffary to prevent the ill effects of their tumultuous proceedings, the act being read, the tumult not only continued, but even the magiftrate was infulted and wounded by a brick, or by fome other thing of a like dangerous nature, which was thrown at him. The neceffity of the cafe required the juftice of peace to command the foldiers to fire; and one or more perfons were thereby killed. Among thefe was one Allen, whom two or three of the foldiers followed into a cowhoufe, and put to death. This was juftly con. fidered as an exceeding of legal authority. One of the foldiers, fufpecter of this death, was feized, imprifoned, and tried at Guildford; where ic was clearly proved, that he was not a perfon concerned in that unlawful tranfaction. The man, who was the actual offender, was faid to have fled from juftice, and lord Barrington, in his majefty's Hame, thanked the officer for doing his duty.

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This whole tranfaction was unjufly imputed to the king, although it were abfolutely impoffible that his majefty could have had the lealt knowledge of the matter. The letter from the fecretary of war was purely official, and exactly fuch, as in the reign of king George the fecond, had been tranfmitted to the officer who commanded at Coventry, when great numbers were killed by the foldiery, in fupprefling a riot about the turnpikes. Notwithftanding thefe circumitances proceeded regularly according to the ftatutes of the realm, the death of Allen excepted; and that becaufe he was followed from the place of the rior, this event was denominated the maffacre of St. George's Fields. And every artifice was exerted to excite the people to an infurrection.
7. In the reign of king William, after the Macdonalds of Glencoe had taken the oaths, by law required; and were peactably returned to their own country, an armed force was infidioufly fent as friends among them, and in one night thirty-eight men were flain in their beds. An accident alone prevented that flagitious act of cruelty from being extended to many thoufands of this and of other clans. The king with his own hand figned the warrant, which authorized this maffacre, both above and below. And, notwithftanding every attempt that was made, he would never perimit any of thote to be punifhed, who were concerned in this murder, attended with every aggravating circumftance that can enter into fo execrable a deed, "confcious that, "in their caufe, his own was involved."
8. Another fource of difpleafure againt his majefty was the pardoning of Macquirk and Kennedy, who had been found guilty of murder. Macquirk had been at Brentford on the day of Mr. Wilkes's fecond
fecond election; and a riot arifing, one Clark had his head broken by Macquirk. Several days had paffed, atter this affair had happened, before Clark was taken ill. . Mr. Sparling, apothecary, attended him; and, as I recollect, Mr. Bromfield the furgeon faw him alio. Clark dying fo opportunely for their caufe, the patriots thought it a favourable occafion of afcribing it to the blow he had received at Brentford; and accordingly one Foote, a patriutic furgeon, was employed to open the body, in order to difcover the caufe of his death. An inqueft was taken by the coroner and his jury. Mr . Sparling depofed that Clark died of a fever. Foote, that he died of the wound received at Erentford. I flall take no notice of the manner in which the evidence was obtained, of Macquirk's being the perion who gave the blow. Macquirk was then feized and committed to gaol, took his trial, and by a ftrange overfight, neither Mr. Sparling nor Mr. Bromfield were called as evidence on the trial. Foote fwore that Clarke died of his wound received at Brentford; and on the verdict being given, guilty of death, the patriots that delight not in blood, houted aloud for joy. And proved by that inhuman exultation, that the fpirit of revenge, and not of juflice, ;had incited them to the trial of Macquirk. When this fingular affair was reprefented to his majeity, and it was known that foote, the fole witnefs on his trial, had never feen Clark till he was dead; and that Mr. Sparling and Mir. Bromfield were not fubpena'd on that trial, who had depofed at the coroner's inquett, that Clarke did not die of the wounds received at Brentford, it was clearly feen that their oaths would certainly have fet alide the evidence of Foote. That duty therefore which ought


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fear of party rage, as in the reign of Charles the fecond, that inexpreffible difgrace to fovereignty. He , when numbers o: his fubjects were doomed to die the victims of remorfelefs vengeance, and of perjurers, fuborned by regicides and republicans; when the reprefentation of tbeir innocence, and the perjuries of their purfuers were laid before him, nunk, like a daftard, from the calls of juftice, the admonitions of confcience, and the duty of a king, and faid; "I dare not pardon any one; his blood be upon your head, and not upon mine." And thus the innocent were led to ignominious flaughter, and the enemies of truth, mercy, and of the contitution, triumphed in their execrable actions, and revelled in the guiltetes blood of their fellow-fubjects.

Kennedy was, indeed, a murderer, and ought to have fuffered that fentence to which he was juftly doomed. Bur fuch is the well known fact, that a perfon of dictinction, feduced by the al.. lurements of that murderer's filter, whom he then kept as his harlot, forgor, at once, both his feelings for the flain, and his duty to his fovereign. And by his means, application was made to his majefty, with a mifreprefentation of the fact in favour of Kennedy. There is not a virtue of the human heart that may not, by artifice and deception, be induced to exceed the limits which are, by nature affigned to its exertion. His majefty littened to the application, unknowing from what motive it proceeded; and perfuaded that no mas: of fucin eminence and rank, as he that applied, would frefume so mifreprefent and to deceive him, pardon was obtained for Kennedy. By the le means, in one inftance, excefs of virtue hath faved a villain from condlign punifhment. But can it therefore

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fore be confidered as a national misfortune, that mercy has been once mifplaced, and cruelty hitherto a ftranger to the bofom of that king who now reigns over us?
8. During the reign of king William, all legal profecution was either cotally fufpended, or pardons granted even to fuch murderers whofe crimes no artifice could conceal, nor mifreprefentation difguife. The Glencoe affaffins were preferved from profecution. Somers, Trevor, and innumerable others, who bad violated the conftitution, and plundered their country, were, by court management, prevented from receiving their due punithment. And laftly, Titus Oates, that nefatous perjurer, in confequence of whofe enormities, more than twenty innocent men were put to death; his fentence, the king attempted to have reverfed. But the commons refufed to gratify him in fo impious an act. That villain, was not only pardoned, but penfioned alfo. The reafon of this flagitious fivour being granted to fo execrable a wretch, may, perhaps, receive fome explanation from a paffage uniformly omitted by all the hiftorians of that prince's reign; although it be equally authentic with any other of his tranfactions whatfoever. "*I prefume todeclare, fays the count d'Avaux, that 1 have omitted nothing which may difcover the combinations that the priace of Oria se has engaged in with the moft abandoned of the Englifh. On the 21ft of September, 1679, I fent intelligence that Oates, who has fince that time teen fo notorious; Freeman, of whom I have already fooken; and Du Moulin, a man of intrigue, and an exccrable villain, arrived together in Holland fome years paft,

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paft, and that the prince of Orange had been in great conferences with them."

From this paffage, may it not be reafonably fuggefted, from whence the contrivanc: of that plor, which never had a real exiftence, originated; by which fo many innocent men were inhumanly executed. Was it in the bofom of the prince of Orange, or did he only acquiefce in, and fupport that infernal perpecration? may not this pardon and penfion of fo execrable a villain, as Titus Oates, have emanated from the fame humane fenfation with the figning of the difpatch, that authorized the Glencoe maffacre, and refcinded all means of bringing the murderers to juftice? and was not the caufe of Oates, in this inftance alfo, that in which the king was equally involved?

Mercy, it muft be owned, was not among the vices of king William: for in the act of incemnity, paffed in the year 16,00 , more perfons were excepted, than at the reftoration, after the kingdom had been fo long deluged in civil blood, the conftitution, civil and ecclefiaftic, fubverted, and the king murdered ar Whitehall. And it is a well known fast, that feveral perfons, apprehended and confined in Newgate, without their being brought to trial, through want of evidence, remained in that jail; and, afrer an imprifonment of many years, therein expired.
9. There is yet another imputation of criminality againft his majefty; becaufe he pardoned Jones, who had been tound guility of the moit unnatural, deteftable, and unpardonable of all crimes. But fuch being the nefarioufnefs of the deed, ought rot the conmaffion of' it to be proved in the moft unexceptionable manner? becaufe the mercy of the fovercign cannot otherwife be de-
cently extended to fuch abominable criminals. That the witnefs and the circumitances of his evidence, againft Jones, render the crime juftly to be fufpected; or, at leaft, that it was not proved, by depofition, adequate to the infliction of death, appears to be too evident to be contradicted. And all lawyers whom I have heard to fpeak on that fubject, are unainimouny of opinion that, on the fole evidence of the boy fo circumftanced, Jones ought not to have fuffered death. The clamour excited on this occafion, fprang entirely from the malignant intentions of thofe patriotic fpirits who omit not any opportunity of landering the beft of fovereigns.
9. Whether king William would have pardoned Jones, had he been or the throne, I fhall leave to the judgement of my readers; after having recited what his hiftorians have delivered. Tindal fays, he was not addicted to women. Bifhop Burnet pronounces, "that he had no vice but of one fort, in which he was very caurtous and fecrer." What this vice was, fays Tindal, he has left the world to guefs; by which means, the worft of vice has been, by his enemies, fixed upon him. * Count D'Avaux fays, "there was fo much affectation in the civilities that the prince of Orange expreffed for the duke of Monmouth, that he feemed to feek, with pleafure, every occafion of infulting the king of England. He indulged him with the fame liberty which was fhewen to Bentinck only, that of entering whenever he pleafed into the prince's chamber. He ficarcely beftowed a favour, but at his recommendation. And no one imagined he had properly paid his court to the prince, if he left it unperformed to the duke of Monmeuth.

[^2]Monmouth. All perfons, of the beft quality in Holland, contended with each other who fhould entertain him. It feemed as if the prince of Orange had changed his humour, or that he entertained fome defigns which were not well comprebended. For he who was the moft jealous of all human beings, even to a degree of not permitting his princefs to receive any particular vifit, not only from man, but even from woman alfo, preffed the duke of Monmouth to fee the princefs every afternoon, to teach her country-dancing. He obliged the princefs to learn to fate on the ice, becaufe the duke of Monmouth had an inclination to learn that exercife. It was one of the moft extraordinary fights imaginable to fee the princefs of Orange on ficates upon the ice, with her petticoats tucked up learning to fcate, fometimes on one foot, and then on the other." I need not remark that the duke of Monmouth was reckoned to be the hand.. fomert of all Englifhmen.

Burnet fays, "about this time, 1 699, the king fet up a new favourite, Keppel, a gentleman of Gueldres. He was raifed from being a page into the higheft degree of favour, that any perfon had ever attained to, about the king. He was now made earl of Albemarle, and foon after, knight of the garter; and by a quick and unaccountable progrets, he feemed to have engroffed the royal favour to entitely, the difpoted of every ching that was in the kirg's power. He was a chearful young man, that had the art to pleafe; but he could farce fomit to the attendance and drudgery that was mentary to maintain his polt. He never had yet difinguifhed himfelf in any thing, though the king dio it in every thing. He was not cold nor $d r y$, as the earl of Portland was thought to be."
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Are not the former precifely the marks of favour with which Charles the lecond diftinguifhed all his female favourites; and the latter, thote of dilike for which he put off one and took another?
" The carl of Portland, continues the biihop, obferved the progrefs of this favour, and with great uneafinefs. They grew to be not only incompatible, as all rivals for favour mult be, but to bate and oppofe one another in every thing; by which the king's affairs fuffered nuch. Portland withdrew from the court, and laid down all his empioyments." Madam la Valliere, the favourite miftrefs of Lewis the fourteenth, on being fupplanted by a rival, left the court, and retired into the convent of the Carmelites. I Mall leave my readers to determine whether Jones, under a like fentence in the reign of the glorious king William, had been pardoned or not. It is my opinion, he would not only have received that favour, but a conliderable penfion. Becaufe Titus Oates, a penfioner of king William, had been expelled from on board a hip of war for fodomy.
10. A mong the various charges which calumny hath laid againft his majefty, that of robbing the duke of Portland, by a grant of Inglewood forreft and the manor of Carline to Sir James Lowther, made a moft-amazing outcry. Since that time it has been proved, in a court of law, that not only the part of that forreft which was thus granted, had never been granted to the Portland fanily; but that it was illegally aftumed. 'That the manor of Carlife had never been a grant from the crown, is evident, becaufe it was a purchafe for life of the laft furviving Leffee, to whom it had been granted by Catharine, queen dowacer of Charles the fecond. And confequently, after the death of that Leflee, the Portlands had held it illegally

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legally from the crown. Hence it appears, that, inttead of his majefty's robbing the duke of Portland; his anceftors had robbed the crown; and he unlawfully retained what they ufurped.
10. It is an uniform opinion that whenever the crown of England devolves on the lawful fucceffor, that the kingdom of Ireland conftitutionally becomes a part of his dominions. But as king William was elevated to the throne by a convention of men called together by a prince of Orange, before he was made king of England, fome doubts have arifen, whether, in fuch cafe, the Irifh were obliged to receive him as their fovereign alfo. They had fworn allegiance to James the fecond. He had never been confidered by them as attempting to fubvert their seligion, or to enflave them. And he could not be faid to have abdicated that kingdom; becaule he was arrived al $n g$ them to preferve is to himfelf. Under thefe imftances, does it clearly appear, by what n ....us the Irifh could have been denominated rebels, for taking arms in defence of king James? and if not rebels, how their eftates could have been forfeited, by their adherence to their only acknowledged fovereign ? Whether they were rebels, or not, I thall not prefume to determint: nor confequently if their eftates were legal forfeitures. Bur there is one forfeiture, which feems to be of a moft fingular kind. It is, that king James nould be confidered as a rebel for defending his kingdom againft king William, and thereby forfic that eftate, in lreland, which he held as private property. This, however, amounting to more than twenty five thoufand pounds, of annual rent, was taken from him, and given to Elizabeth Villiers, king William's sountenoncing female favourite. But I am not law-

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yer enough to determine whether this be or be not a robbery. I leave that to the learned Mr. Lee.
II. The inattention of the miniftry to the Corficans, when the French had landed on their illand, with intent to take poffeflion of it, was another fubject of patriotic clamour. The brave, the meritorious and freeborn Corficans were afferted to be moft thamefully deferted; and even, that the caufe of liberty hertelf was facrificed to the king of France. Thefe patriotic zealots for liberty were therefore implacable, becaufe his majefty would not become the Don Quixote of all fovereigns; and wafte the blood of thoufands of his fubjects, and millions of their money, in defence of men whofe freedom could not have been fecured, but by an eternal war; even fuppofing we could have affifted them fo effectually as to repel the French forces from the illand. If we had fought it for ourfelves, and taken poffeffion of it, I am in doubt whether the Corficans would have thought: their liberties improved by a change of mafters, and have deffifted from taking arms againft the troops of England. Of this I am convinced, that to have preferved that iffand, would have coft, in oni year, as many Britilh lives, as there are Corficans who are able to bear arms within it; and five times as much money as the fee fimple of it is worth : to fay nothing of the too extenfive ftate of our foreign dominions, nor that the French had purchafed it from the Genoefe, to whom the Corficans were fubjects. What reafonable pretence could his majefty have formed for engaging in the affairs of Corfica? if that ifland be of that immenfe import, which the patriots affect to defcribe it, on what account have the king of Sardinia, the duke of Tufcany, and other Italian

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pótentates confidered it as an object altogether unworthy their concern, although it lie fo near to their dominions? what then is Corfica to us, or what are we to Corfica?
11. King William folemnly protefted before God never to make peace until the French Hugonots were reftored to their poffeffions; to the peaceable enjoyment of their religion, and till liberty was reftored to France, by re-eftablifhing the ftates of that kingdom. He neverthelefs concluded a peace with that monarch, without the leaft mention of either of thefe particulars. And left his brother Calvinifts in the hands of a tyrant.
12. When the Spaniards had compelled the Englinh to leave Falkland's inand, what an exquifite fenle for the honour of old England did the patriots exprefs: nothing but war would fatisfy their indignation, and vengeance was to be poured on the Spaniards for this egregious initult on the Englifh nation. His majefty and his miniftry were treated with the higheft indignity, for fuch fhameful pufillanimity, as that of not declaring hoftilities on the moment. Neverthelefs, the king and minitters by their firmnefs and wifdom were not of the fame opinion, which thefe clamourous fubjects appeared to be. They conceived that neither the blood nor treafure of his fubjects was to be wantonly wafted, at the incitement of fuch turbulent exclaimers. In confequence of this paternal care in the king, he by treaty obtained the recall of the Spaniards, and the illand was refumed by his fubjects. No blood was fipilt. And fmall was the expence, in preparing for a vindication of the nation's rights and honour, fhould the Spaniard refule compliance with what was required. Spain acceded to our terms, peace was confirmed, and patriotifin was grievoully difap, pointed,
$\square$ ( or )
pointed; by that heinane negociation which fpared our lives and treafure, and refcinded them from the hopes of carrying their fanguinary principles into execution, whillt the kingdom was engaged in a foreign war.
12. In the reign of king William, the people of Scotland planted a colony on the Ifthmus of Darien. By which the fmuggling trade on that coaft, fo advantageous to the Dutch, was in danger of being demolifhed. The king's minifters, in Scotland, encouraged the Scots in this undertaking, thinking it would prove abortive; or, by the immenfe expence, cure them of the inclination of engaging in fimilar undertakings for the future. During this conduct, in Scotland, his majefty, in the greateft privacy, fent officers to Jamaica, the Leward iflands, and the continent of America, and proclamations were iffued, in his name, Atrictly commanding his fubjects, on no pretence whatever, to hold correfpondence with, or to afford any affiftance, by arms, atnmunition, provifions or neceffaries whatfoever, to the Scots at Darien. In this manner, whilit the Scottifh fubjects were encouraged at home to compleat their fettlements at Darien, they were treated as outlaws abroad, and deprived of every thing neceffary for their fupport. In this ftate, being attacked by the Spaniards, they were driven from the feetement; and in fpite of every application that could be made by all Scotland, no attention was paid to it, no demand was made on the Spaniards to compenfate for this violence. But Britify honour and Britifh intereft filently gave way to the more powerful motives of Dutch affection, which reigned: predominant in that king's heart; who, from being a petty prince, and fervant of the united pro-

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vinces, was exalted to the thrones of three powerful kingdoms.
13. When his prefent majefty afcended the throne, he chofe to have his civil lift fixed at eight hundred thoufand pounds a year; the fame it had been in the reign of king George the fecond; with this difference only, that the furplus, which had arifen from the revenues appropriated to the payment of it, and had been applied by the preceding minifters to the king's private ufe, was now to contribute to the national ex.ence, in augmentation of the finking fund. This furplus was then known to have been very confiderable. And fince that time, the duties appropriated to the difcharge of the civil lift, have amounted, on an average of the fourteen years of the prefent reign, to more than a million annually. In corifequence of the preceding eftablifhment of eight hundred thoufand pounds, the public has received an arnual advantage of two hundred thoufand; Jeing in the whol 'wo millions eight hundred thoufan' - i. But as from this diminution of the ufual, ' which arofe from the whole duties appr A 1 thereto, in the reign of king George the fe...., his majefty's civil lift inevitably in. curred a debt of lix hundred thoufand pounds. The minittry, confcious of the advantage which the kingdom had received from the afcertaining of the yearly revenue at the fum above-mentioned, applied to parliament for a grant o difcharge the preceding debt; and as it was requefted with reafon, it was granted with juftice. This application was not unprecedented in former reigns, in which no advantage had been derived to the nation, from the furplus of the revenue that exceeded the fum eftablifhed for the civil lift ex-


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pences. It is manifett, howe ver, by adding the fix hundred thoufand pounds raifed to the eight hundred thouland yearly income, and titen deduct. ing the whole fum from what the king would have received, had the civil lift been left as it ftood in the reign of his grandfather, that the nation has been benefited in the addition of two miliion two hundred thoufand pounds. Hence it appears, inttead of more money being taken from the annual income, to fupply the civil lift expences of his prefent majeity, than of king George the fecond, it may be truly faid, that by the limitation of that revenue to 800,000 . a year, the king has prefented, and the nation received the benefit of 2,200,000l. more, than it would have done, had the payment remained as indefinite as it did in the preceding reign. And this advantage ftill continues proportionally to accrue.

But the preient patriots, being the fpawn of thofe who were uniformly rebels to the beft of kings, and inftruments of oppreffion in the hands of the worft, are filent, refpecting the advantages which the nation has acquired; and clamour inceffantly againlt the grant above-mentioned, as the molt oppreflive.that had ever been devifed, and the moft injurious to the people.
13. During the reign of king William, the civil lift was fixed at feven hundred thoufand pounds a year; when that fum would purchafe double what it will at prefent. This was obtained under the pretence of a penfion, of one hundred thoufand pounds to the queen Dowager; and for fupporting the houfhold of the duke of Gloucefter. To the queen's ufe he never paid a penny. To the duke of Gloucefter's, fifteen thoufand pounds only. And he refufed to advance one quarter's revenue

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fpeaking of the murder of Charles the firft declares, that "fuch a tranfaction would have been," which both grammar and fenfe require to be written will be, "an immortal honour to this country, whenever the fuperflitious notion (the facrednefs of kings) Thall be obliterated." And if it be not now effectually obliterated, it is not to the fupinenefs or malignancy of him and his brethren, the patriots, that its continuance can be aferibed. Even Dr. Price, in his appeal to the public, p. 39, in enumerating the caufes of our prefent evils, introduces that of "giving fecurity to the Hanover fucceffion. This, fays he, is in truth the fundamental grievance of the kingdom; and that parriotifm, the firf object of which is not the removal of it, can be nothing but an impofture". To expect that fuch principles will not produce the fame effects, which they have hitherto done, is to fuppofe the order of nature to be abfolutely changed. And will it be more abfurd to fuprofe, that the feed of an onion will produce a pine apple, than that fuch principles, unchecked, will not generate rebellion. Such are the words of thefe reverend feekers of the Lord. And will it not embarrafs the unmerciful Tommy Townfhend, and the modeft Mr. Lee to difcover any thing in the writings of Dr. Johnion, or myfelf, to nearly approaching to treafon? and yet, to ufe the words of that fellow Lee, "we fee no notice taken, no complaint made of Books," wherein the principles of regicides and rebels are impioully profeffed and publicly promulgated. A ftanding army is therefore become indifpenfibly requifite. It was to men of their principles and to ferve their own purpofes that a ftanding army was firlt begun, and caufelelsly eftablifhed in this kingdom;

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kingdom; and, in confeouence of their prefent exertion of the lame principles, it is at length become a neceffary meafure that it be continucd, in order to prevent their republican purpofes; and for the fecurity of his majefty and the conftitution. Thus the very forces, which they eftablifhed, by an unforeleen event are become the evident means of fuppreffing their feditious principles from being carried into execution.
14. When king William afcended the throne, a ftanding army was unknown in thefe realms. It was he began and continued it, during life. It was he, and the Whigs, who, in oppofition to the Tories, prevented their being diminifhed below feven thoufand forces. And in one year he kept three thouland men in pay more than the number voted by parliament. It was the Tories who infifted on the Dutch guards being fent home; and on the renegado Frenchmen being difbanded. All mankind are acquainted with what reluetance the king fubmitted to this neceffary ast. And when the parliament would not confent that he fhould keep his alien guards, which were an eternal reproach to the honour and fidelity of the Englifh, he faid, " if I had a fon, by God thefe Dutch g!ards fhould not quit me."
15. Parliamentary corruption, placemen, and penfioners, conftitute another charge againft the prefent reign. That corruption is undoubtedly great enough. But from the revolution, to his majelty's acceffion to the throne, the Whigs had fo far effaced all fenfe of national virtue, that the cafe was, in fact, no longer a corruption fpread by the miniftry, "among the members of parliament; but a demand of the members to be corrupted by the minittry, which would take no denial. For a majority
jority of thofe delegated defenders of the peoples rights, confidered the revenues of places and penfions as a kind of hereditary right eftablined by prefcription; and therefore that no minitter fhould be permitted to tranfact the national bufinets, however advantageous ir might prove, without their being previoufly obtained by pecuniary emoluments. And fince we have experimentally found that the exclufion of fome placemen has not improved the integrity of the houfes, what reafon have we to believe that, if not a man of that fort had a feat in either houfe, that the parliament would be lefs corrupt, or lefs compliable with the propofitions of the minifiters? The commiffioners of the cuftoms, excile, ftamps, arny agents, and a great number of others, are precluded from feats in the houfe of commons, as men too much under minifterial influence. But is the number in favour of court meatiures thereby diminithed? would it not be better, according to the prefent and degenerate difpofitions of mainkind, to have fuffered thefe men to have remained members; becaufe their falaries would then have influenced to nothing more than what is now accornplifhed by others, at a much greater expence? For now two fets of men are paid for that which might be as well pertormed by one aloute; and the expences faved to the people which are now walted on the latter. When corruption cannot be cured, which, by the practice of the Whigs, has been foftered and continued through almot a whole century ; when religion and national integrity, by their encouragment, alfo have been laughed into fcorn; when all men are convinced that the prefent complainants in parliament have practifed the fame corrupt means, when they were in power; and that thofe who are
not in that hoי $י$ le, are in oppofition to the lame medfures only, becaufe they do not participate in this diftribution of corruption; were it not better to admit all placemen and penfioners to fit in the houle of commons, and thereby at leaft to fave the public money; fince by the uniform experience of eightyfix years, every rea! Jnable expectation of reftoring public virtue is at an end ?

To what purpofe then can annual or triennial parliaments be revived, unlefs the difpofitions of men can be changed by their own votes in the houfe of commons? by flortening the duration, the price of corruption will increafe, fince men will be bought whatever it may be. And if they have but one year's market, they know that the bulinels of the ftate cannot proceed without them ; and therefore they will fell their commodity at a higher price. The nation muft conlequently be taxed for more money; the people be oppreffed to provide it; and corruption become more egregious than before, the fole event which is to be expected from annual parliaments. That we have no longer trienial parliaments is owing to the Whigs, thofe friends of E.ngland, who without applying to their conftituents for a re-election, molt impudently continued the preceding election from three to feven years. It appears from the hiftory of this kingdom that, in the reign of Edward the lecond, , there were al-. moft as many parliaments as years. In that of Richard the fecond, there were two new parliaments more than the years he reigned; and three in one year. And yet, are thefe cimes fuch as any friend to human kind, or lover of his country, can wifh to fee reftored? can it be deemed an unwarrantable conclulion, that the prefent men of principles fo fimilar to thote of the long parliament,
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liament, in the reign of Charles the firft, who alfo roared for triennial parliaments, will, like them alfo, when become a majority, rob the king of his prerogative, and eftablifh a parliament that can be prorogued and diffolved by themfelves alone? are not the rebellious acts of that parliament fuch as they yearn to imitate? and would they not, at once, by a like law, not only deprive the king of his prerogative, in the antecedent refpects; but rob the people of their right of a general election, by perpetuating themfelves for ever? fuch were the tranfactions in thofe days, when they had the effrontery to pretend, that they took arms in defence of the people's rights and privileges, and for the king himfelf, againt whon they waged war and fought to llay: fuch will they not proclaim themfelves to be, whenever they can find their power is become predominant in the commons.
15. The prince of Orange; in his declaration, afferts, "that his expedition was intended for no other defign but to have a free and lawful parliament." The firft inftance of his fincerity was, to call together thofe who had been members of any parliaments in the reign of Charles the fecond. This proceeding was, in fact, a pofitive interdiction, not only of all thofe who had been members in the reign of James the fecond, but of every other fubject, except the mayor, aldermen, and the deputies of the common coun.cil of London. Of the members, as it was forefeen, thore, who had been for excluding king James from the throne, made the largeft number. And we are told by Tindal, "the prince thought, that befides the fuffrages of the peers, it was proper to be authorized by others, which might pafs for thofe of the people." And thofe men, io felected and convened, addrefed the
the prince to take upon him the administration of public affairs. And thus this affembly, in the place of a parliament, was elected by the prince of Orange alone, on a subject the molt iniportant to a fate. One hundred and fixty men, with the mayor, aldermen, and deputies of London, were confidered as a majority of the people of England; and the administration of the nation was imparted to him without: the leapt application for the consent of the reft of the nation. A convention was called by the prince of Orange, the members of it were elected, and they placed the crown on the heads of him and the 'princess Mary, and excluded king James, without confuting the people on that molt momentous tranfaction. It was now that parliamentary corruption, but little practifed in the antecedent reigns, was fpread with amazing zeal and rapidity; and inftead of calling free parliaments, none had hithereto been fummoned, in which a tenth part of pecuniary influence had been exerted to fupplant the freedom of elections. Burnet fays he complained of this corruption to the king. His majesty anfwered, that it was impofifile to be prevented. Such being the cate, at that time, 1 imagine that eighty-ix years of fucceffive corruption hath not changed that impoffibility into a thing profitable, at prefent. For, by men of like principles with the prefent patriots, from 1688 , to the accefion of his prefent majefty, that luxuriant plant hath been fo carefully manured and watered; hath taken flush deep root; and brought forth fruit in füch abundance, it appears to be as eafy to abolish the exiftence of parliaments, as to eradicate the corruption of them. And from an unremitting experience, is there not the greatelt reafon to believe, with the revival of annual parliaments, and with

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the virtues of John Wilkes, efq; added to thofe of the prefent patriots, in and out of the commons, that the torrent of corruption will ftill perfeyere in ins wonted rapidity?
16. The fale of places, and frauds committed by thofe in office, conititute an acculation of the prefent minifters. I can recollect but one inftance in which, the former hath been brought to proof. And on that occafion the charge was refuced by a verdiet of twelve jurors, in a court of law. Of the other charge the fole evidence hitherto appears to confint in nothing but the clamours of the patriots and the populace.
16. In the reign of king William, Burnet tells us, that places were fet to fale by the Whigs; the fleet was vietualled with unwholfome food; the army in Ireland left unfurnifhed with every thing neceffary; artillery, horfes, carriages, bread, medicines, \&cc. The duke of Leeds, Trevor, feeaker of the commons, Guy, Craggs, and a number of others equally culpable, were impeached for bribery. The parliament was then prorogued, in order to preferve thefe fcandalous offenders from punifhment. And an act of indemnity was foon paffed to refcind the means of bringing them to juftice. Befides which, moft egregious abufes, ill practices, and intolerable exactions, by colonels and agents, were perpetrated on the officers and common men. And among the numerous frauds, that of falfe endorfements on exchequer bills was one, by which vaft fums were amaffed by men in office. The perpetrators of all thefe heinous crimes, were altogether unnoticed, or but aightly punifhed.
17. Another caufe of murmuring is the behaviour of the foldiery in their quarters, which exitts
in clamour only, as far as it has hitherto been proved.
17. In the reign of king William, the officers and foldiers extorted fubfiftence money from thofe on whom they were quartered, and to this violence they were chiefly induced by the frauds, and withholding of their fubfiftence money, by their colonels and agents.
18. The diminution of the gold coin of the kingdom was of late become to notorious, that it was abfolutely neceffary to put a ftop to that iniquity. This was done by afcertaining the weights at which each piece fhould pals, according to the reign in which it was ftruck. This moft reafonable proceeding was, neverthelefs, a caufe of prodigious outcry; alchough a reform were abfolutely indifpenfible. The event has proved the excellence of the mealure; the evil is remedied, and the nation has been put to the expence of 25,000 . only for a new coinage.
18. A like diminution of the coin was fuffered to take place, fo long in the reign of king William, that $1,200,0001$. (Burnet fays it coft 2,200,000l.) were raifed in parliament," by a tax on windows, for fupplying the deficiency of clipt money. Five per cens was given as a reward for bringing in unclipt money; and three-pence an ounce for all wrought plate above its real value, and the ufe of plate was prohibited in public houfes. Notwithftanding all this mode of proceeding, which would at this day be pionounced an act of arbitrary power, the diftrefs occafioned by this recalling of the coin was fo great, that there was not money fufficient for the payment of fervatits; labourers, and others, who were in weekly want of their wages. Government tallies and deben-
tures were at forty, fifty, and fixty, exchequer, and even bank bills at twenty per cent. difcount, Such is the infinite difparity between the meafures taken by the minitry, in the reign of the glorious king William, and by thofe in this of his prefent majefty.
19. Are not the marriages of their royal highneffes the dukes of Gloucefter and Cumberland, unprecedented inftances of two brothers engaging in matrimonial contracts, without previounly declaring their intentions to him who was their brother and their fovereign ? Precedents in this kingdom, without refpect to their good or evil tendencies, are too frequently confidered as authorities adequate to 1 juftification for fimilar behaviour on fubfequent occafions, as if the fole circumitance of preceding could impart a fanction to all that might follow of a like nature. I believe if Cain had llain his brother Abel, in England, the prefent patriots would have brought that fratricide as an argument againft the juftice of his pretent majefty, had he permitted one brother to be put to death for the murder of the other, provided it could promote their confcientious purpofes. His majefty, on the antecedent events, having confidered the numeroufnels of his children, and the ill effects which might arife from intermarriages between the royal family and thofe of his fubjeets, entered on a refolution of preventing fuch ill effects by anticipation; and betore it could have the leaft appearance of anfwering any intention againft any prince defcended from his grandfather.

It was therefore enacted, that no perfon lineally defcended from that king, fhould legally contract a marriage, without the previous confent of his majefty, his heirs, or fucceffors. But if any fuch
quer, sunt, fures rious efent npreig in eclarother dom, ncies, s adejur on ftance II that Cain e precide as nt maput to ded it fis mafidered ill efes betts, en effects e leaft nft any ineally ontract of his IJ fuch de-
defcendant, above the age of twenty-five years, Thall perfift in fuch intention of matrimony, upon giving notice to the privy-council of fuch intention, after the expiration of one year, he or the fhall be permitted to marry; notwith!tanding the king may not have confented to it ; unlefs the parliament, during that time, fhall exprefsly declare their difapprobation of fuch intended marriage. It is not eafy to fuggett a method that at once fo juftly unites the claims of national felicity with thofe of nature. Such princes are prohibited from marrying, without the king's confent, only until they become well informed of the confequences which may probably enfue fuch contracts. They are then free from their fovereign's controul, and left to the two houfes of parliament, without his affent required to their determinations. If the marriage appear to be reafonable, it will certainly be approved; if not, it refts on the houfes to juftify their refufal. And yet, fo propitiounly promiling to preclude innumerable ill effects, as this act indifputably is, it was not the lefs an object of patriotic calumny.
19. Such an act, as the preceding, could find no place in the regn ofnking Wiliam. Queen Mary had no children, nor did I ever hear that Elizabeth Villiers, or any favourite, male or female, was ever fufpected of being, in a breeding ftate, from any intercourfe with that prince, bifhop Burnet excepted. And even that fufpicion of the prelate was entertained by himfelf alone. The bihop, in whom credulity and truth were as diftant from each other as the two poles, paid an implicit obedience to the dielates of the former, and totally difregarded thofe of the latter. To his honour, however, it mult be allowed, that he never diminilhed his native ftock of verity, thro

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the practice of his life. For, in all his relations, he conftantly made ufe of tbat only which is either more or le's than the trutb; and hence, having never touched the truth itfelf, he went out of the world poffeffed of the whole original ftock with which he came into it. As to his credulity, although it were daily wafted to the bones, yet, like the liver of Prometheus, what was devoured in the day, was regenerated in the night; and it never fuffered a real leffening to the hour of his expiration. In confequence of this profligate credulity, this right reverend oconomift of veracity being occafionally indifpofed, by an advertifement was informed where a certain quack doctor might be found, who by cafting his lordhip's water, could not only difcover his difeafe, but fend him a cure, without the intervention of a perfonal enquiry into his complaints. Credulity feized on the occafion, and a fervant was difpaiched to this quack, with a phial of his holy water. But fuch were the effects of fate, that neither the fanctity of the bifhop's manners, nor the prefervation of his precious health, could prevent the phial from being broken in the carrying. The fervant, who poffefed, at leaft, as much fenfe as his mafter, thought that the water of one perfon might prove as good for the prefent purpofe, as that of another, and being apprehenfive of being chidden alfo, if the accident were difcovered, bought a phial, and knowing that water, frefh made, would create foine fufpicion in the doctor, entered a beer houfe, and defired that the phial might be filled with fome water that had been made during the night: The good woman of the houle, who was, it teems; breeding, filled it with her own, and away trudged the fervant to the phyfical infpector of urine.

Cn his return, the bifhop cried out, "Weel Mon, what kens the doctor of my urine ?" My lord, fays Sandy, "after meckle leuking on the water, he e'en told me, the perfon who made that water is with bairn." "Ah! geud God, cried his lordfhip, I always told his majetty what it would at length come to. $+I$ my yelf faw a great deal of thisimanagement, for I was then at court:"
20. The difpleafure againft the princes for their marriages, was another article of refentment againft his majefty, by the patriots, who prefume to cenfure his private as much as his public conduct. But certainly no fovereign hath ever thewn fo little dinlike on fo unexampled an occafion. It is true, they do not appear at court, and there it ends. In all other refpects, no mark of refentment is thewn either by his majefty or the queen.
20. King William and queen Mary refented the application of the princefs Anne to parliament, for fixing her revenue, when the fo juftly declined the dependence on the generofity of a Dutchman for the payment of her income. This behaviour was fo offenfive to king William and queen Mary, who fufpected that this application had proceeded from the advice of the dutchefs of Marlborough, that

+ As the writer of this account had no other authority than his own affertion, to authenticate the above paffage, and as, in all probability, he was not born till thirty years after the event could have happened, it recurred to him that the truth of it might pofibly be called in queftion. Notwithitanding this fingle circumfance, he fill expects that it will obtain the credit which it defenves. Since it is to the full as practicable for the writer to have been at the court of London, before he was born, as it was for Burnet to be at Whitehall, before he left Scotland. And yet, on fuch kind of evidence, much of his lordhip's hiftory depends.
that they ordered the princefs to difmifs her from her fervice: and becaufe the would not comply with this injunction, fhe was forbidden the court. In this difunion the fifters remained; and the pious queen Mary fet out to anfwer for this want of natural affection, in another world, without defiring to be reconciled to her only fifter in this.

21 . Another modeft charge of the patriors againft his majefty is, that of violating the grants made in royal charters to the Americans, by the preceding kings of England; and in prefuming to extend into the colonies the leginative right of taxation by the parliament of Great Britain; which, as thefe fubjects affert, is done with intent to enीave the good people of America. But will thefe Americans and their confederates, in this kingdom, uniformly allow, that the royal prerogative can, by grants, conftitutionally annihilate the authority of the Britif leginature? will not this be to acknowledge and fupport, that a more exceffive power renains at prefent in the crown than was extirpated by the bill of rights? by that bill, the king is inhibited from fufpending or difpenfing with laws already made; but by the prerogative, for which the patriots and the Americans contend, the parliamentary power of making laws, in this realm, refpecting America, is not only fufpended and difpenfed with, but abfolutely annihilated by the king. Becaufe, by his prerogative, he can refcind it from parliament, and bequeath it to the colonies. Is this doetrine coincident with that which is fo vehemently urged againft exerting the prerogative-royal, even to the prefervation of the people from ftarving? But, to men of their principles, every excefs of that power is lawful; and the leaft legal exertion of it a violence, as each of them may quadrate with their de-
figns. They never have allowed, nor ever will allow, any meafure to be juft or unjuft, but as it correlponds with or oppofes their purpofes. Has not the legifature abolifhed the ancient rights of the church, of fuit and fervice in the field and at the courts of kings, and barons, of marriage, ward, foccage and villain fervice; together with a multiplicity of ochers, fo folemnly granted, in magna charta, by compact tetween the fovereign and his fubjects, confecrated by the folemn rites and fanction of religion, and confirmed more than thirty times in parliament? and, were not thefe amazing changes accomplifhed by the legiflature, in proportion as the progreffive alteration in manners, the augmentation of riches, and the welfare of the ftate required them? But it feems the grants of kings, to the fubjects in America, are to be held more facred and inviolate than the great charter of Eng. land. And the power of the two houfes, added to that of the fovereign, on the prefent fate of circumfances in America, fo different from that which exifted when their charters were originally granted, is to remain inerr, and fupinely fee the colonies difmembered from their mother country. It Thould feem a parliament can lawfuily do every thing in Great Britain, and nothing in America. The king can neither revoke his grants, nor the parliament alter them, whatever may be the emergencies which demand it.

In objection to the right of taxing them by parliament, they anfiver, that they have an exclufive privilege by charter, to tax themfelves, by their own affemblies, by whom it can alone be equitably done. But do thefe grants exprefsly exclude the leginative authority of this kingdom from making laws to levy money in America? and if they do, is there

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an Englimman uninfatuated with the prefent patriotifm, or unactuated by finitter motives, who would not exclaim againt the validity of ruch a pretended right in the crown? would not even thefe patriotic malcontents be then the firt to roar againft kings, for infracting the rights, fubverting the liberties, deftroying the conttitution, and enAlaving the people? but now it fee, os right, liberty and conftitution are all to be preferved by fuftaining that very prerogative-rpyal, which, on other occifions, they fo much aftect to execrate and confine. Jinumerable are the charters granted by kings to corporations in this kingdom, by which they are authorifed to levy money for their own ufes; but àre thefe corporations, by thefe charters, protected from the payment of parliamentary impofs?

Have not the Americans, by their charters, the right alfo of making laws for themfelves? will not the fame anguments, therefore, which are urged in favour of their difobedience to taxation, be equally coercive in every other legilative ordinance? and from thence, will it not as logically refult, that the parliament of Great Britain has not the leaft right to enact fuch laws, as may, in the leait degree, or in any initance, effet the Americans in their feveral provinces? and then, will not that exemption amount to an abiolute independancy on the leginative authority of this realm? a conclufion, which, 1 thould think, can hardly be warranted by the conftitutions, either of Great Britain, or of the colonies.

Befides the preceding objection of thefe republican malcontents, to comply with the acts which are made, refpecting taxations on them in the provinces, they alledge, in their defence alfo, that

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they have no right of electing members; and there: fore are not reprefented in the houfe of commons, none to fuperintend their concerns, and to affit in laying taxes by their own content, as it is the undoubted privilege of all thofe fubjects who refide in Great Buitain: but in this they muft confcigully offer what they know to be untrue. For, in this predicament, they fand exactly on a level with nine parts in ten of the fubjects of this kingdom, who have no elective right. But the rights of election, and of being reprefented, are diftinct things. For the inftant the members are elected by the few, they become the reprefentatives of all. Unlefs this were the cafe, all thole fubjects, who have copyhold eftates to any value, money in the funds, or on morigages, to any amount whatever, who annually trade and manufacture for great fums, as well as innumerable others', who have not freeholds of forty fillings a year, or are entigled to vote by freedom, "burgage tenure, or other qualification of the feveral citie's and cowns, which fend members to parliament, are not reprẹfented. A conclufion to which, I imagine, no Briton will accede. The Americans, therefore, although they be without the right of election, are neverthelets poffeffed of that of being reprefented, as fully as that great majority of non-elector who inhabit this illand. Being therefore, in a like condition, they ought, for that reafon, to pay the like obedience to the acts of this leginature, with thofe who dwell in England, and are not entitled to the privilege of election.

Should this valt majority of non electing conftituents prefume to withhold the taxes, which are nupofed on them, for the preceding reafons, which they may as juttly urge as the Americans, would
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thefe be arguments fufficient to protect them from a compulfory payment? the counties palatine of Cheiter and Durham had, and now have laws peculiar to themfelves. The former fent no members to parliament, till late in the reign of Henry the eighth; the latter, in that of Charles the fecond. Were they, before they fent members, without the reach of parliamentary taxation? were not their grants as valid, and their objections as reafonably to be made, as by the Americans; but did that avail them?

Before the American flamp act was made, what inftance is there to be found, that thefe reftiff fubjects conceived the idea of not being reprefented in parliament? did they ever abftain from applying thereto, on all occafions, which might ferve their purpofes and promote their interelt? during the laft war, when they boaited to expel the French from Canada, if arms were fent them, and when that requeft was complied with, it was found, by experience, that all their fanatic vauntings expired in wind; and that the Canadians, who were not a tenth part of their number, would have driven them into the Atlantic ocean. On this diftrefs, did they not conceive themfelves to be reprefented in parliament, and apply for an army to fave them from deftruction? and was not that fuccour fent and fupported, at an immenfe expence, to this kingdom? By this act alone, were they not preferved from the hands of their enemies? and now they prefume to refift the Britifh right of taxing them, by that very legillature, from whom they fought and received their temporal falvation. Such hath been, is, and ever will be the thanklefs resurns of thofe men; from whole hearts it would be exceffively more difficult to eradicate ingrativ tudes
tude, than to diveft arfenic of th: power of poifoning.

It hould feem then, that thefe gracelefs fubjects confider the people of England as their flaves', to labour, and to find men and money for their fervice and defence : and that they are our mafters, at full liberty to raife or withhold either of them as they pleale, whatever may be the emergencies that may happen in this part of the world. In fact, we are to be at all the expence of treafure and of blood, and they to reap the advantage of it, without contributing one Chilling, or one man, towards the demands of either of them. Would not this infolence, if indulged, be adequate to the folly of toffing up a halfpenny on the ridiculous conditions, that, by heads, the Americans,win; and by tails, we in England lofe. If the fpirit of a Briton and a loyal fubject can bear this infult on his underltanding, on his property, and on his right of preferving life in common with all other his majefty's fubjects, their fouls 'are not made,' at prefent, of the fame eftimable materials with thofe of their anceftors. I will appeal to the common fenfe of all thofe, who are asquainted with the principles of thofe trans-Atlantic fectaries, whether, in times of war, without the legiflative coligation of the parliament, they would raife a fhilling that was not to be folely applied to their own particular advantages? are thefe the fubjects who are to be permitted to refift the laws of Britain, and to be indulged with raifing their own taxes on all emergencies? to them is his majefty to apply, by requifition, for fupplies to be levied at their option ? ${ }^{\wedge}$ and is the leginature of Great Britain to remain inexertive of her conititutional rights, and to be to flagitiouny treated by fuch rebellious ingrates? Bri-

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triotifin would not prevent its being confumed. The Boftomians, therefore, difregarding the claims of conmmon honefty, as well as law, if any thare of the former virtue did then remain among them, boarded the fhip by force; rifled the cargoe; threw it into the river, and thus committed felony. Such was the unpardonable contempt which they madnifefted to the laws of Great Britain. Thefe ate the men who fill pioteft they are meritorious and loydl fubjects; and who are encouraged and defended by the patriots in this their unexampled outrage:

The event has evinced that the magittrates of Bofton either liad not the power or the inclination to put the laws in execution againit thofe rebellious pluinderets ; the latter of which is well known to be the thuth. That the governor was not armed with powers, not poffeffed of fufficient authority to compel them to it, is an indubitable fact. And yet, according to pattriotic and prefbyterian doctrine, this molt atrocibus infult on the legillative body of this kingdom is to be left entirely to the cognizance of their own magiftrates; who, it is certain, will pay no more attention to it, than neceffity fhall compel them to. Would not that, in fact, be adequate to a plenary indulgence in the crime? Not a felon of them has been apprehended: and if ten thoufand of them had been tried for ten thoufand murders, committed in that or the like tranfaction, they would have been acquitied to aman with exultation, and with triumph over juftice. Are thele men with impunity to riot in their outrages; to remain unamenable to all courts of law; and, be fecured from condign punifhment, becaufe they and their magiftrates are equally excited by the fane rebellious principles? do they deferve to enjoy

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joy the protection of the laws againft thieves, in this kingdom, who are advocates for fuch criminals in America ?

Are thofe audacious men, who have thus forcibly committed, not only felony, but high crimes, and mifdemeanours, if not treaton againft the Itate, to receive no chattifement from the leginature? is not the fanction of the laws, which was violated by force, to be reftored by force legally eftablifhed to that end? but lenient and temporifing meafures are, alone, to be adopted and purfued, fay the modeft patriots. The Romans never temporifed but once. They were fpeedily convinced of that folly, abftained from all repetition of a fimilar miftake, and, by that refolution, fubdued the world. Half meafures deftroy the beft defigns. The minifter, on occafions like the prefent, that deliberates is loft. Not only he, but even the dignity of the crown, and the happinefs of the people fink therewith. But I truft that an ill timed and injudicicus lenity will not avert the fuccefs of fo juft and io national a caufe. For there are times in which the Etrict application of a proper power can alone preferve a nation's welfare.

In no inftance of outrageous violation of the legiflative authority, hath fuch an indulgence been fhewn to criminals, fo egregiouny offending. In return for all this violence, what has hitherto proved to be the infliction on the perpetrators? the Boftonians are puphibited, by law, from exporting, and from importing, in the port of Bofton only, with penalties annexed to tranfgreflions of that law: which, however, does not extend to the prohibition of fuel. Another place is appointed for the meeting of their affemblies, and a port alfo is appropriated to the purpofes of navigation.
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And fuch offenders, as it is well known will not be treated with the juftice of that punifmment which their crimes demand, may be now fent hither to be tried, in the courts of this kingdom, in which there is no fhadow of pretence that the laws will be unjuftly carried into execution. Can the hiftury of all ages produce one inftance of lo lenient a proceeding againft fuch egregious offenders? added to this, a general and fome troops, with a few thips of war, are ordered to prevent the like outrages for the future; and to provide that thefe acts of the legifature be not infulted and rendered effete, by a like rebellious action as the former were. This is the whole exertion of legiflative authority which has hitherto been enacted, relative to the Boftonian rebels, on which fuch a tumultuous outcry of infracted charters, and intended havery is bellowed through the realm, againtt his majefty, his parliament, and his minifters. Did either Cromwell or the glorious king William poffefs the fupreme power at this time, the former, who knew the infidious difpofitions of the prefbyterians; and the latter, who never failed feverely to inflict thofe with punifhment, who oppoled his will, would not permit thefe rebels to perfevere in fuch refiftance, and efcape on fuch eafy terms? would chey not then have reaton to lament the want of that mercy which they now decry as criminal, in their fovereign, on the throne.

But. in order to obviate all objection againtt the king, his parliament and minifters, refpecting the conduct which has been adopted and purfued in the preceding inftance, I will take up the principles and opinions of thofe patriots, relative to the fovereigns of Great Britain and their minifters; fuppole, for a while, that his majefty is noQ ching
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thing more than a chief magiftrate and truftee for the people; and that his minitters are obliged to advife and execute that alune which is juif, and moft likely to be advantageous to the whole community, whether in Britain, America, or other place whatever.

Is it not an invariable maxim of found polity, that all thole, who are fubjects to the fame ftate, thould be equally obedient to the act- of her legiflature? can there be any thing more juft than that all fuch hould contribute their proper proportion of fupplies, toth in men and money, for futtaining all national exigencies? and is it not the indifpenfable duty of fuch a king and of his minifters to apply to the fupreme legillative power, and to obtain fuch acts as may compel thofe revoltcrs from their conftitutional allegiance, who would withhold themfelves from fuch duties, to become obedient to the laws, and contribute to the fupport and welfare of the ftate? are not thefe the meafures which his majelty and his minifters have purfued? could fuch conduct have been omitted without the jult charge of inattention and neglect on a chief magittrate, and truftee of the Britifh people? are Great Britain and Ireland alone to raife the national fupplies, and the Americans to be left untaxed by the Britifh parliament, would not that partiality to the latter be an oppreffion on the former; and his majefty, on patriotic principles, be a moft delinquent magittrate, and faithleis truitee? hence then, wherher the king be confidered as he conftitutionally is, or according to the fentiments of patriots and fectaries, what reatonable objection can be framed againgt his prefent meafures in Bofton? fhall the Americans contribute their treafure, or not; determine what fhall be imported

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ported from this kinglum to his majefty's colonies; and exported from thence, as they pleale, and be indulged in this flagitious breach of allegiance? and laftly, will you Britons, and Hibernians, who are loyal fubjects, be tamely and alone doomed to every expence, in men and money, which the kingdom may require, whillt the Americans are exempted from both? join, therefore, with chearfulnefs and refolution, to fupport the undoubted rights of your fovereign and yourfelves; exert your endeavours to fuppreis their rebellious proceedings in America; and treat, with honeft indignation, all thote in thefe kingdoms, who juftify their infults, and defend their caufe, as enemies to the conftitution, to your fovereign, and to the honour and welfare of the Britifh realms in Europe. For, in whatever light the conduct of your king, his parliament, and miniftry, may be reprefented by defigning men, to the eyes of integrity, on this accafion, their actions ill appear to be delerving the utmoft applaufe a loyal and a happy people can beftow.
21. In the reign of king William, there feems to be nothing fimilar to the preceding conduct. The honour and the interelt of England, during that time, appear not to have been attended to with much fincerity. His exertions were to obtain money from his Englifh fubjects, to maintain the honour and the interefts of the Dutch; by charter, to furrender the rights of the whole nation into the hands and tyranny of a trading company; and tamely to fuffer his Britifh fubjects to be driven from their American fettlements, by the Spaniards, when the interelts of the Dutch required it.
22. Another moft atrocious accufation againft his majefty hath $b$ en diligently, and with frequent repetition promulged through his whole domini-

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ons. It is nothing lefs than that of having broken his coronation oath, in affenting to the act for making more effectual provifion for the government of Quebec. Let me tranfcribe this oath, that the audacious injuftice of this calumny may be clearly fhewn to the world.

It is, "that his majefty folemnly promifes and fwears to govern the people of this kingdom of Great Britain, and the dominions thereto belonging, according to the flatutes in parliament agreed on, and the laws and cuftoms of the fame."

Is not this Quebec bill a ftatute agreed on in p.inliame.at, and are not the laws and cuftums of the Canadians thofe by which they are to be governed? where then is the breach in this inftance? neverthelefs, on this account, amazing clamours have been raifed, as if this law were intended to extirpate all trials by juries: than which nothing can be lefs true. At the requeft of the Canadians their civil caufes are to be adjudged, according to the laws and cuftoms which have always exifted among them; and from which it was impratticable to deviate, without endangering, by an infinity of litigious purfuits, the claims, titles, and fecurities by which their properties had been hitherto fecured.

But refpecting the proceedings, in criminal law, "it is enacted, that the fame fhall continue to be adminittered, and thall be obferved, as law, in the province of Quebec, as well in the defcription and quality of the offence, as in the metbod of profecstion and trial; and the punifhments and forfeitures thereby inflicted, to the exclufion of every other rule of criminal law, or mode of proceeding thereon, which did or might prevail in the faid province, before the year of our lord 1764."

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Thus the penal law of England and trial by iuries, which the parriots affert to be abolifhed, is, by this very act, eftablifhed in Canada, at the defire of the people who knew the benef. $s$ and advantages refulting from their ufe; for like reafons, as the former laws and mode of trial of the Canadians were preferved. Are juries then abolifhed in Quebec, when the fame method of trial is prelerved, as in the criminal law of England ? is arbitrary power extended, either in penal or civil caufes, when in both inftances, the inclinations of the Canadian fubjects are complied with? from what motive then did this notorious calumny of annihilating juries and eftablifhing תavery in Quebec proceed? from that infatiable luft of fallifying in the prefbyterians and other fectaries. "For, to reproach their fovereign with lying affeverations, is infeparable from fuch men, fo intimately is the jpirit of falfehood amalgamated with the drofs of which they are compofed, that divide them, as far as matter is divifible, and a lie hall be found in every atom."

The next article is "that the king, to his power, caufe the law and jultice in mercy to be executed in all his judgements." And this obligation, it fhould feem, according to the humanity of patriots, his majefty has obferved with a criminal excefs.
The lait article is, "that the king, to the utmolt of his power, will maintain the laws of God; the true profetion of the gofpel; and the proteftant reformed religion, as by law eftablifhed: and will preferve unto the bifhops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all fuch rights and privileges, as do, or fhall by law uppertain unto them, or any of them.".

Let me now enquire, whether any thing contained in the Quebec act be repugnant to the preceding article of the coronation oath. Do thefe propagators of falfehood conceive that, by this article of his coronation oath, his majefty is obliged to maintain the chureh of England, as the only true profeffion of the gofpel; and the proteftant religion, by law eftablifhed, through all his dominions, whether they be fuch as he poffeffed when he took that oath, or fince acquired by conqueft? if that be their idea, prefbyterianifm mult be extirpated in Scotland; the Roman Catholic religion, in Minorca; mahometanifm, and the religion of the Hindoos in Benga!, and the Carnatic. Can all this be inferred from the word maintain? it was never meant to be more than fupporting the church of England, where it was then eftablifhed, and is not this indifputably evinced by the fublequent particular? "that he will preferve to the bihhops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their care, all fuch rights and privileges as do, or fhall, by law, appertain unto them.". Are the churches and temples of the dominions out of England committed to the epifcorai care? In this initance, then, is there the minuteft caute for that atrocious calumny of infracted faith, refpecting the coronation oath ?

In fact, the malignity, the fallehood, the ignorance, or a combination of all thefe qualities, have either blinded the intellects of patriots and prefbyterians, or prevented their acknowledging, that popery and the Roman Catbolic religion are not neceffarily conjoined. For certain it is, that the difcipline of a church may be changed; the fupremacy and jurifdiction imparted to another head; and yet, the articles of faith, the doctrine, the mode of worMip, and the forms of prayer, may remain unaltered.

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tered. Such was the real ftate of things, when Harry the eighth had finified the reformation, as far as he intended it. At that time, the papal power was totally extinct in England; and the Roman Catholic remained to be the eftablifhed religion. In this manner, it now exilts in Canada, and a reformation is begun, in that province, by his prefent majefty, by means as laudable, juft, and humane, as the former were replete with the oppofite qualities.

But let this act, refpecting popery, fpeak for itfelf. "And for the more pertect fecurity and eafe of the minds of the inhabitants of the faid province, it is hereby declared, that his majefty's fubjects, profeffing the religion of the church of Rome, of, and in, the faid province of Quebec, may have, hold, and enjoy, the free exercife of the religion of the church of Rome, fubject to the king's fupremacy, declared and eftablifhed by an act made in the firft year of the reign of queen Elizabeth, over all the dominions and countries which then did, or hereafter Mould belong, to the imperial crown of this realm : and that the clergy of the faid church may hold, receive and enjoy, their accuftomed dues and rights, with refpect to fuch perfons only as Thall profefs the faid religion."

Hence, is it not evident, that the king's fupremacy is eftablifhed in Canada, and the pronl abolifhed ? And, by the act of Elizabeth, abo: : referred to, all ecclefiaftical jurifdiction is annexed to the crown; and neither the pope, nor other foreign potentates, can exercife any power or auchority in this kingdom. And thus his majefty is equally the fupreme head of the church of Rome, in Canada, as he is of the proteftant church, in England, and of prefbytery, in Scotland. On thofe terms, thefe catholics can only have, hold,
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and enjoy the free exercife of their religion; and then only, in fuch a manner, that no proteftant is obliged to pay one farthing of the accuftomed dues and rights which formerly appertained to the Roman Catholic clergy, and which the catholics muft continue to pay. In order to enjoy this toleration alfo, they are obliged to take the following oath. "I A. B. do fincerely promife and fwear, that I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to his majefty king George, and him will defend, to the utmoft of my power, againft all traiterous confpiracies and attempts whatfoever, which fhall be made againtt his perfon, crown, and dignity; and I will do my utmoft endeavour to difclúfe, and make known to his majefty, his heirs, and fucceffors, all treafons and traiterous confpiracies, and attempts which I Shall know to be againit him, or any of them; and all this I do fwear, without any equivocation, mental evafion, or fecret refervation, and renouncing all pardons and difpenfations from any power or perfon whomfoever to the contrary. So help me God."

Hence, it is indifputable, that every Canadian, taking this oath, doth folemnly depole all that can be defired, to bind him to the defence of the king, and all that is requifite to be renounced, relpecting the pope, and other potentates. Lis allegiance is as far acknowledged and fecured to his majefty, as the facrecinels of an oath can afcertain it. And this oath is not to be refufed, but under the fublequent penalty; "that every perfon who fhall neglect or refufe to take the faid oath, beforementioned, fhall incur, and be liable to the fame penalties, forteitures, difabilities, and incapacities, as he would have incurred, and been liable to, for neglecting or refufing to take the oath required by the
their caules to be tried by juries, as in England. I he poffeffions of laymen and ecclefiatics are eftablified, excepting thole of the regular clergy; for the propagation of the church of England, and the fupport of her clergy, it is amply provided. In fact, no circumftance frems to be omitted, which humanity and the chriftian faith can dictate: nothing enjoined, but what good polity hath fuggefted, and reafon can fupport. And in no reign, fince this kingdom hath exifted, is there to be found one inflance, in which the wifdom of the inftitution is fo perfectly united with the precepts of Chrilt, and the virules that dignify the beft of men. In this place, it is impoffible to abftain from deciaring that, to the immortal honour of the prelacy of this realm, they have, in the enacting of this law, afforded the moft undeniable proof, that, by the doctrines which are tavight in the cvangelical writings, their actions have been truly directed. Among the bifhops, confifing of more than twice the number of the apoltles; but one fpeechprinting Ifcariot is to be found. Such is, in faft, rhe true ftate of the Canadian ftatute, for which the patriots and prefoyterians to audaciounly defame their fovereign, his minifters, and the parliament itfeif. And I hall now aik, on what pretext, effrontery can dare to affert the coronation oadh has not been inviolably preterved?
22. When king William came to the throne, he took the very oath before inferted. The firft article, " of governing the people according to the ftatutes, laws, and cuttoms," he violated by keeping three thoufand men in arms beyond the number limited by an expreis Alatute, to omit all other inftances.
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alio be taken, any time within twelve months, and then omitted, on the penalty of $500 \%$. To excule offenders allo an act is annually paffed. And who are there, the quakers excepted, among the fwarms of fectaries, that refufe this teft, when either ambition or inte. reft attend the taking of it? Do they not, on all fucti occafions, foleminly depole, on oath, rendered ftill more awful by receiving the eucharift, that the king is, alone, both head of the church and tate; then immediately abfolve themfelves from that facred obligation, and remain profeffing a contrary opinion, in both refpects, during life? on the other hand, the Roman Catholics, wha, as thefe fectaries affert, may conitantly receive abfolution from their prieit, for breach of oath, and facramental teft, dare not to enter into thofe obligations; although to forfwear themielves be a crime, the punifnment for which may be inliantly averted by a prieft. But fuch is the difference, that, whilft every catholic refufes to take the oaths, altho' he may be abfolved by papal power, every prefbyterian is himfelf a pope, or confeffor, commits the fins he likes, pronounces his own pardon, and abfolves himfelf. Such is the daily practice of all thofe fectaries.

A toleration, however, king William obtained for them. How well they deferve that indulgence, their prefent writings and tranfactions fpeak aloud.

When king William took the coronation oath of Scotland, he fwore to maintain the proteftane church of that kingdom, which was then epifco. pal, like the reformed church of England. The impreffion which was made by that facred obligation was foon effaced from his confcience: he fpeedily abolifhed that church, and eftablifhed prefbytery in its place.


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minifter into admiration, by giving fuccefs to armaments naturally difproportioned to the attempt; but vietory was the refult of properly planning the expeditions, and of preparations adequate to the accomplifhment. An honourable peace was then concluded, of which we now fee the excellence and importance. From that moment, the expences were leffened, as far as it was practicable, and the debss have been fince that time diminimed more than ten millions of money. The glory of the nation was never fo great among foreign potentates; the commerce of the realm never fo extenfive; nor the adminiftration fo free from every attempt to opprefs the people, or to infringe their libercies. We have no German fubfidies, nor inclization to difturb the tranquility of Europe; to exhauft our treafure; and to lavih the lives of Britons in fupport of alien interefts.

1. When king William was pretented with three kingdoms, the nation was in peace. He immediately imbrued our hands in blood, and watted our treafure to aggrandize the Dutch, and carry his vengeance into execution againft Lewis the fourteenth, for oppofing his' arbitrary intentions on his native country. At his acceffion, $2,061,8566$. was the whole fum that was annually levied. With this a civil lift, a formidable feet, and an army of almoft thirty thoufand men had been raifed and maintained; $362,49 \mathrm{Il}$. were faved out of that fum, according to account given into parliannent; and the nation was abfolutely unincumbered with debt. During the thirteen feffions of parliament, in king William's reign, 54,417 , 782l. were raifed; in one year, $11,530,159$ l. and on an average, $4,185,983 \mathrm{l}$. Your lands and neceffaries of life were greatly taxed, and a debt

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left for us and our pofterity of $17,000,000$. During this tinse, king William was defeated in every battle, in Flanders; he won that of the Boyne, in Ireland; and was forced to raife even the fiege of Limerick. A fcandalous peace was concluded, exclufive of the French proteftants. The king had effectually loft all credit with the Englifh, they confidered him as totaliy eftranged from their welfare, and as one whofe word was not to be believed. For thefe reafons, queen Anne, in her firft fpeech, informed her parliament, "tbat ber beart was truly Englifh; and that they fould always find ber a ftrizz and relizious obferver of ber word." All the true friends of the Englif conftitution received intelligence of his death with pleafure; the prefbyterian, fectaries, and Dutch alone, heard of it with regret. The honour and the glory of the kingdom was fo egregiounly funk, that the lords, in their addrefs to the queen, after her firft speech from the throne, exprels, that her fpeech would have the fame effect, both at home and abroad, of equally reviving the bearts of her allies and fubjects. And fo much had the crown lands been leffened, by grants of king William, that, in the civil lift act, then made, the fum of $700,000 \mathrm{l}$. a year, for that purpofe, out of which, the queen annually prefented 100,000 l. to the public expences, was fixed fo high, as it is faid, becaufe the great grants made by king William had fo much decreated the revenues arifing from the crown lands. In his reign, parliamentary corruption was begun, continued, encreafed, and entailed on the people. A ftanding army was firft raifed and eftablinhed, and the kingdom involved in debts and continental connections; and all the necefiaries of life firft loaded with the payment of taxes.

1. So much for the public Virtues of thefe two princes. Since the day of his majefty's acceffion to the throne, he has hewn his paternal care, by endeavouring to leffen the prices of the neceflaries of life. He prohibited the exportation of corn to preferve his people from famine, for which royal benignity, he was mort indignantly treated; by being obliged to affent to an act, that by an ungrateful implication expreffed a ftretch of his prerogative. Since that time, he hath recommended it to his parliament, to whom the redrefs of fuch grievances alone belongs. And that no remedy has been hitherto produced, is neither to be imputed to the king, nor to his minifters. For, by what means can the landed intereft be induced to leffen the prices of provifions, the rents of whofe eftates have ro augmented with that oppreffion of the people? can his majefty, by his prerogative, or his minifters, by their interelt, fubdue the profligacy and leffen the diffipation of the members in both houfes; or reduce the enormous expence that luxury demands? can the eftates be again divided into Imall farms; the commons reftored to the poor; the number of horfes diminifhed; or one inftance of felfifh profufion be abolifhed by royal or minilterial power? is it juft then, to impute the continuance of the high prices of all things to our fovereign, and his fervants, who cannot oppofe fuch oppreffive practices?

In every inftance of private virtue, as Son, Hufband, Father, Brother and Mafter, he ftand's unequalled among the race of kings; and a living example to private men. His marriage was the higheft act of prudence, refpecting his country. Her majefty, defcended from a race of fovereigns, as ancient as any in Europe, and $S$ unallied
unallied fo neally with any potentate, of dominions fo excenfive, as that their quarrels may embroil this kingtiom in hoftilities, on their accot at, is fraught with every virtue that can adon a woman, to whom the tongue of patriotic defamation has not dared to impute an error.

His time is paffed in council with his minifters; in reading; in the encouragersent of fcience; the protection of the imitative and mechanic ares; and, perhaps, by way of avocation, fometimes in the actual exercife of them. The embellifhment of his gardens give to the labourer bread, to his people pleafure; and were the virtues of this royal pair transfufed through their fubjeets, they would render this nation the glory of humankind. They are lefs fuperior to their people $\mathrm{v}_{\mathrm{j}}$ the exaitation of a throne chan by that of virtue.

Through his reign, to this hour, no fymptom of a fanguinary dilpofition, no act of cruelty has been vifible. His mercy is io diftinguifhed, that the remorfelels crew of prefent patriots charge it on him as a crime.

1. William the lecond prince of Orange, father of king William, having imprifoned fix of the provincial ftates, in the caftic of Loveftein, marched the army of the Urated provinces, in the dark, infidioully to feize the city of Amtterdam, and to enlave his country. This horrible defign was prevented by the fole accident of the Hambrough polt-boy pafing through the army in the night, to Amfterdam, and alarming the citizens. This faved the place, and preferved their liberty. Wiiliam the third was born after his father's death. The late efcape from defpotifm induced the ftates to enter on the refolurion of eternally fuppreffing the office of ftadtholder. During the youth of

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William the third, the fole inftructions, which he received, were imparted by John de Wit, the penfionary of Holland, a virtuous man, and a fiicere friend to the republic and his country. By his intereft, the prince of Orange was made admiral and captain general of the troops of the United Provinces. He willingly received thefe high offices, under the moft folemn oath, of never accepting the ftadtholderhip, although it hould be offered him by the ftates.

Notwithftanding thefe obligations to that great man De Wir, who was of the Arminian faith, the prince excited the cs'viniftical preachers, who are ever ready for the execution of michief, to inflame the populace againft him: till, at length, they fo far fucceeded, as to incenfe the rabble to murder both John de Wit and his brother. Having thus profpered in blood and ingratitude, the prince of Orange, affifted by his calviniftical teachers, abfolved himfelf from his oach, and affumed that ftadtholderthip which he had fo folemnly fworn never to accept.

When the French, under the command of Luxemburg, invaded the Dutch dominions on the ice, and "which, as Burnet fays, would have bad a very stagical conclufion, if a happy turn of weather had not faved them" Painvine was entrufted with the command of a fmall fort, on a caufeway, through which the French mult have paffed, had not the ice afforded the means of proceeding without ftaying to take it. Painvine, forefeeng what would be the cafe, that his defence would be ufelefs, and being follicited to preferve another town from the enemy, retired to Tergow, to reinforce that place with the troops and cannon. The fort alio was allowed to be unS 2
tenable

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tenable. For this behaviour he was tried by a court-martial. He pleaded, that he left that place, on the requeft of one of the towns, in order to preferve it from the enemy. He was, neverthelefs, found guilty of cowardice, fentenced to have his fword broken over his head, and to be banifhed the dominions of the ftates. The prince, not fatisfied with this fentence, he was again tried by a court, compofed of general officers, and they confirmed the fuitner fentence. So far the laws of the United Provinces allowed. The prince of Orange, whofe relentlefs foul was not to be fatisfied with lefs than human blood, in viclation of the law and juftice, had him once mere brought to trial before himfelf, and a court of.fupreme officers. He was then found guilty, condemned and executed. By this implacable purfuit, was not William the third, prince of Orange at once the judge and the predetermined murderer? his favourite doctrine of predeftination effacing every humane fenfation, and fanctifying every act of cruelty. Patriots be for ever filent, refpecting Jefferies, that inhuman judge, or determine of all men according to their deferts.

From the day of his being Stadtholder, to that of his acceffion to the throne of thefe realns, he was totally engaged in fubduing the Loveftein party, and in endeavours to become abfolute in Holland. Lewis the fourteenth oppofed him in all his meafures, not through affection, but thro' intereft to preferve the United Provinces in their prefent form of government. On this account, the king of France was firft de efted by the prince of Orange. This deteftation augmented with every defeat he received from that king, which were equal to the number of battles in which he was engaged.
gaged. And there can hardly exift a more ridiculous ftory, trumped up to create his confequence, among the Englifh after an unfuccefsful campaign, than that Lewis the fourteenth had fent affaffins into the camp, to put him to death; when it was his life alone, that was fo precious to the French : fince, by a long and unifurm experience, they had been tanght the infufficiency of his generalfhip, and the certainty of their fuccefs, whilft he commanded. The reverfe of this they were foon taught, by the fuperior abilities of the duke of Marlborough, to create whofe importance no fictitious affaffinations were requifite to be invented.

During this time alfo, the regicides of his grandfather, thofe who plotted to deftroy his uncle, and every enemy to England, found afylum and protection in Holland. He engaged with Oates in that fictitious plot, for murdering the king, on which fo many innocent catholics were put to death, in order to excite the populace againt his father, and to exclude him from the throne. He coincided with Ruffel, Sydney, Fer.gufon, and others, in the Ryehoufe plot, to affaflinate the king. The two firft had their attainders taken off, after his coming to the throne of England. Shaftefbury, Fegufon, Burnet and others, found refuge near him ; and Ferguion, the prefbyterian teacher, and Burnet, the prefbyterian prelate, returned with him, when he landed in England.

James the fecond, by fufpending and difpenfing with the laws; by endeavouring to obtain an aboJition of the Teft-act, and to admit papifts, prefbyterians, and other fectaries, into all offices, civil and military; by his attempts to introduce papifts into power in the univerfities of Oxford
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and Cambridge ; by his bigotry, and defigns to fubvert the eftablifhed church, and to encreafe arbitrary power, deferved to lofe his crown. And he was expelled the kingdom juftly. The revolution was, therefore, a bleffing to the nation. And king Willian afcended the throne of his confort's father, and his own uncle.

That King, in his private life, did never manifeft the leaft leve for ficience, literature, or arts. His pleafures were all umatural. Hie delighted in blood, whether in war or peace. Slaughtering inoffenfive animals, by fhooting, was his chief delight in the latter; in the former, that of his fellow creatures. He was never elevated but in a day of battle ; and, ex, age, he left all of them with difappointment a. difgrace. He loved not the Englifh; and in peace or war annually paffed the feas to fpend his time and Englifh money in the fwamps of Holland.

The pious queen Mary entered her father's palace, infenfible to his fate: and fhewed no kind of compunction on the remembrance of him, who had once inhabited it. One pious tear might have dropped and have ber a pardoned. Nor was fhe ever reconciled to her fifter. From hence, may it not be reafonably inferred, that tendernefs of heart was not the characterittic of that good queen, who manifetted no affection in thofe inftances, where nature is moft prompt to exert it. Filial affection and that of a fifter were aliens to her brealt.

Such are the public and the private virtues of their prefent majelties, and of king William and queen Mary. Thofe of the former princes are proved by the living teftimony of their daily actions, whilt all hiftory evinces the facts which are related of

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of the latter. Mr. Lee may now continue in his former opinion refpecting William and Mary. The moft formidable , ummy Townhend may unite with the learned counfellor, roar allegiance to dead princes, with a view to countenance their filence, refpecting the living, and exert their oratoric powers againft me, as often as they pleafe. I defire no other punifhment, on thefe gentlemen, than that they may be obliged to print their fpeeches.

It is a tale that has been affiduoully propagated by the fectaries, that popery has, at all times, been attended with llavery in this kingdom; and that the prefbyterians, and other revolters from the church of Engiand, are, and ever have been, the faft friends of freedom, and the conititution. That the Roman Catholics are conftant perfecutors of thofe who, for confcience fake, diffent from their opinions; and that the latter have been, and are, the advocates for univerfal toleration and liberty of confcience. I fhall prefume to examine into the cruth of this'affertion, from facts alone. And with that view to lay the mof material tranfactions of both before the public, and then leave it to their determination.

In the reign of king John, both the prelates and nobles difclaimed allegiance to him ; becaufe he had acknowledged his dependence on the pope, in temporal concerns. Langton, archbifhop of Canterbury, was the perfon who began, conducted, and obtained Magna Charta, in his reign ; and had it again confirmed in the fubfequent. In the reign of Henry the third, the dignified ecclefiaftics difdained to fubmit to taxes impofed by the papal fee, even in contradiction to their fovereign's recommendation. And the bilhop of Lonton pronounced, "if the mitre be taken from my head, a helmet thall inftantly fupply its place." Stratford, archbifhop

againft catholics, were enacted in their place. On the alcent of Mary to the throne, the preced. ing laws of Rdward were annulled; the Roman Catholic religion, together with the papal fupremacy, were reftored; and the laws againft heretics 'moft injudicioully revived. Thoulands, whom curiofity or averfion from proteftantilin, had brought to the inhuman fectacle, of chriftians expiring in the Aames, feeing the fortitude with which they died, and admiring their conitancy in fuffering, were enthufiaftically feized wich perfuafion, that the caufe for which they expired muft contain both truth and falvation. Thofe, therefore, who came catholics, returned from thefe inhuman executions, converted to the proteftant church. That punifmment, therefore, which advances the very end which is was inftituted to deftroy, is cerainly the moft injodicious act of miftaken polity. During this reign, about two hundred of the church of England expired in the flanies, the martyrs of their faich.

Queen Elizabeth, being feated on the throne, the nation again returned to the church, as reformed by Edward the fixth. But fuch is the confequence of reformation in religion, one conftantly begets another, as if religion were intended for nothing elfe but to be mended, and greater evils may, by progreflion, arife from that caufe, than have been remedied by it in the beginning. For fuch is the invariable difpofition of zealors, and of defigning men, that the former never judgiag what the qualities of the human mind, the circumftances of the times, the prefervation of religion and found polity require, imagine nothing to be compleat in reformation, whilt any thing reanains of the old eftablifinment; at the fame time the latter T
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teizing the lult of innovation, and of difobedience to all power in the populace, artfully conducting , in their criminal purfuits, under the deceptive difgute of fuperior holinefs, to thofe ends which arr con, interefted defigns, or mere malignity of hea. $i$ incite them.

In confequence of thefe two caufes, diffentions from the church of England fprang as naturally in this reign, as from the church of Rome, in the antecedent. The fame argumens were uled by the latter, as by the former, in defence of their diffentions. The right of lerving God in their own way, and to be indulged in their tendernefs of confcience, had ftill the fame weight and energy; and as no intention of eminent mifchief can be carried into effect, by the noft refined in cunning, but by force or feduction, whenever fuch defigns are in agitation, and power is deficient, the latter becomes the fubftiture, commences and conducts the underraking, by ofering fuch propofitions as bear the face of right to all but the difcerning, who, in fuch cafes, are always few in number: and, like Caffandra, are not believed in their predictions.

The reformers, in the reign of Edward the fixth, had renounced the Roman Catholic faith, and molt piounly configned their anceftors to the devil, for being idolaters. The puritans, for fuch they were firft called, paid the like compliment to the living ; denominated all that remained of rites, ceremonies, and worthip of the ancient religion in the reformed church to be idolatry ; and, with like piety, fentenced theie profeffors of the new faith to the infernal regions alio. In this manner reformation as fpontaneounly grew out of reformation, as one polype from another, and as regularly became new exiftencies. The tenets, on which they
they differed and contended, were all founded in truth, and warranted by fcripture. The gofpel was explained by every man, according as it beft might ferve his purpote; a multiplicity of fenfes were found to be in the fame text, and every one was a perfect judge of the truth and rectitude of what he read. By theie means, every individual was right in his own opinion; and every man wrong, that differed from him: and thus being all right, as they confidered themfelves, and all others wrong, as they were confidered by them; all were right, and all wrong, at the fame time. The principles, whic! ;ere adopted by thefe puritans, were not examined by the criterion of human judgement, in order to determine, whether they would tend to the improvement of true religion, morality and virtue; but by that which every crafty and infidious knave could twift the icriptures to exprefs, and to ferve the purpofes of molt effectually feducing the populace.

The doctrines of Calvin, mixed with fanaticifm, are irrefiftable. Zeal is the fharpened wedge, and predeltination that tremendous weight which drives through all oppofition. Thefe were adopted by the puritans, and applied progreffively to all the purpoles of national deftruction, Leicefter, Wallingham, Cecil, and others, were puritans at heart, and patrons of them openly. Thefe principles were countenanced as beft adapted to lupport their deligns on the church lands, which were left unpillaged by Henry the eighth, of which Leicefter and others obtained confiderable portions. Thefe men ruled Elizabeth: Laws were enacted, which made it high treafon, for a fubject, born in England, to return a prieft from beyond the feas to his native country. It was made treafon, either to T 2 convert

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convert another, or to be converted by him. It was felony, alfo, to entertain, fecrete, or any ways afifi is Koman Catholic prieft.

By thete finguinary fatutes, as many priefts, of the Roman Catholic faith, have been drawn, hanged, cut up alive; their hearts torn from their bodies, whillt palpitating in the executioner's hand, and thrown into the flames; their members fevered, and expofed on the public places, in which they luffered, as there were proteftanss that perifhed in the flames of Mary. Thefe victims had commiteci no other crime than that of being priels, and preaching their dostrines, like Atygutin, who firt promulged the fame chrifian faith, and eftablifhed that religion, for which they died, among our anceftors. Not a man of them, when allsed, but would have willingly complied with taking ans eath of allegiance to the reigning prince, in all temporal affairs. Not a man would take it in ecclefialtical, on the terms of life, lincerely offered, when racks, in prifon, ftretched him agonifing in torture, nor when the inftruments of execution and lighted fires were prefent io his eyes. One of thefe victions, whofe name was Tunftal, when the long detail of drawing, hanging, cutting down alive, ripping open, burning and difmenbering, was pronounced, beard it with that refolution which a perfect confcioufnefs of being right can alone infipire ; and inflantly replied, weell, my good lord, this wible árcadful fentence imports but one death. Words which exprets a fublimity of fentiment, and fuperiority of foul, that nothing has exceeded, or can exceed. Miany, alfo, who entertained them, perithe loy the hands of the public hangman. For thefe puritasical ftatefmen had, by law, converted cvery laudable fenfation of the heart, and act of humanity,

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humanity, in parents, brothers, fifters, relations, friends, into felony and death.

Such was the minitterial infliction: but by prefbyterian principles men are not made martyrs, but perfecutors. Religion is their inftrument of mifchief, not their guide to falvation. Their faith, refpecting the obligations of an oath, is taken from two lines in Hudibras :
' $\Gamma$ is he, that breaks the oath, who makes it, Not he, who for convenience takes it.

It is uniformly feen, that hang but felf-intereft, or even the paultry honour of a mayoralty or fherifffhip before their eyes, or put their property in danger, their confciences are diftended with the utmoft facility; and no oath is too large to be taken down; of fuch fingular ftuff are they compofed, they dilate like a viper fwallowing a toad. And when none of the preceding objects are offered, the fmalleft grain is too large to find admitance into fuch tender confciences.

Such was the parliamentary infliction of a puritanical miniltry againit the Roman catholics, whole plea of perlevering in that religion, which had fublifted to many ages, and was firtt promulged atnong : Englifh; was, on that account, more ftrong than that for imnovating and difturbing the church fo lately eftablifhed, and which, at length, fubverted the conftitution both civil and religious. In this manner, puritanical cruelty was exercifed through the reign of that queen. At length, the faw to what excefs that fanatic and infidious race were extending their defigns. She felt the ill effects of their principles, and enacted laws to fupprefs them aifo. But thefe,

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in like manner, were injudiciounly formed. The evil was thereby augmented, and the then too late, forefaw the fanguinary calamities which they would one day inflict on this deluded nation.

When James the firft acceded to the crown of England, he brought from Scotland a thorough deteftation of the prefbyterians, from whofe machinations he had almoft miraculoully efcaped. His opinion of them is beft known from his own words, in his bazIAIKON $\triangle \Omega$ PON, written to his fon; "Take heed, therefore, my fon, to fuch puritans, very pefts in the chich and common. wealth; whom, no deferts can oblige, neither oaths nor promifes bind, breathing nothing but fedition and calurnies. Alpiring without mea. fure; reviling w.hout reafon; and making their own imaginations, without any warrant of the word, the fquare of their confciences, I protett, before the grear God, and fince I am here as upon my teflament, it is no time for me to lie in, that ye fhall never find with any highland or borde: thieves, greaier ingraticude, and more lies and vile perjuries, than with theie fanatic fpirits. And fuffer not the principles of them to brook your land, if ye like to fit at reft." Such they were, in thofe days ; fuch they are at prelenc. The fatal effects which they produced in the reign of Charles the firf, loudly pronounced, that no vigilance no: exertion of legal power, either by laws, already, or to be, made, can exceed the emergency of the prefent difpofitions of thefe men, who profets themfelves to be of fimilar principles, and are engaged in like purfuits.

James, who abhorred the prefbyrerians, was not difinclined to the Roman Catholics. Cecil, his minifter, a prefbyterian at his foul, beheld this propenfity

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propenfity with pain; and wifhed to eftrange his oovereign's heart from thofe he liked. At this time, the moft nefarious defign of blowing up, by means of gun-powder, king, lords and commons, was undertaken by about fourteen of the papifts. The intention was difcovered by fuch means, and prevented in fuch a manner, that it is not without probability that the prefbyterian, Cecil, had contrived this execrable undertaking, by fecretly practifing on a few fiery bigots of the papal church; in order, by thofe means, to avert the inclinations of James from his Roman catholic fubjects. Among thefe, Garnet, the Jefuit, fuffered death. His crime was, not revealing this defign, which had been imparted to him in confeffion. I pre:nd to no excufe for this Jefuit's conduct. But certainly being, by his religious office, under the moft folemn obligation not to reveal what was confeffed to him, he had a better plea than Burnet, whom $\ddagger$ conftanily confider as a prefbyterian prieft. He, good man, left England, to feek an afylum in Holland; becaufe he certainly knew what was interded, and feared that the undertaking then on foot was premature: for he fays, "He thought the beft thing for him to do was to go out of the way beyond fea. This gave him great credit with all the malcontents, and he made the beft ufe of it he could." After this avowal, he that will not conclude that Burnet, by difregarding his oath of allegiance and not revealing what he knew, who had no excule, from vows or oaths to the conerary, and by encouraging thofe he did, was not as great a villain, and merited death as much as Garner, mult find more coercive arguments than I have hitherto difcovered.

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The contrivers of this execrable intention received that punifment which was juftly due to them. But by the moit diligent fearch it was found that no other Roman catholic was concerned in that plot; no arms were collected, nor mili.tary preparations made; fo that no confequence, in favour of papifts, could have been derived from that horrible intention. It is difficult, therefore, to decide whether the folly or the iniquity be moft enormous in that fanguinary purfuit. For, had the event taken place, would it not have proved more fatal to the Koman catholics than to the relt of the kingdom? for who can doubt that in the firft impulles of vinclictive rage, they had perifhed by the hands of the proteftants? This plot, the council of Cecil, and the prefbyterian intereft in Scotland prevailed on James to perfecute and put: to death numbers of Roman catholic priefts, whofe whole crime was folely that of being of the priefthood, and preaching their defirises for confcience fake, the very thing thefe probyterians cidimed as the original rights of humankind.

Notwithbanding James the firft was animated with fuch aborrence of the prefbyterians, his pedantic and difputatious ipirit, and his affectation of being a profound 1 heologift, facilitated the means that brought his fon to the blecik. In fact, he adopted the moft egregious eiror, that a fovereign can commit, relpecting fuch diffentions as may arife from a churcts eftablined. He fuffered the clergy to enter into cunferences and difputes with the prefbyterian teachers. Whereas he fhould have known that in fuch affemblies neither truth nor reafon have power to lubdue enthufialm and change the opiations of the controvertifts. Motives of a contrary nature and too powerful to be
$k$ : overcome by argument, animate their hearts and difputations. They are kindled into greater refentment againtt each other, and from that impulfe feparate with more averfion; and therefore, are lef's open to convicticn than when they met. No converts are made by fuch difputes. At the fame time, by indelging the prefbyterians with thofe conferences, the king imparted a confequence to their caure; and afforded reafon to fuggeft, that it contained fomething which deferved a refutation. All fuch proceedings are deftructive of the end to which they are intended, and unwarrantable by manly and found polity.

James being dead, his fon Charles legally affumed the fceptre of the three kingdoms. During the two preceding reigns, the puritans had encreafed in number, and in riches. Thefe circumftances augmented their power, and inflamed their infolence. They were now no longer the humble fuitors, for confcience lake, to be permitted to worlhip God in their own way. They entered on the refolution and the means of demolifhing every object which might refift their defigns, whether it were ecclefiaftical or civil. The king, and the houre of lords, religion and the laws, were alike to be abolifhed. They were confcious, however, that their machinations mult prove abortive, unlefs fome fpecious plan were devifed to create a difiontent between the fovereign and his fubjects. Without that aid, on what pretext could they conmence thofe nifchiefs which they had projected. But in fearch of that affiftance, they were not long employed. In the laft year of the reign of James, they had urged him to a war with Spain and the emperor; shey then gave him a fupply; and a petition againft popery was prefented to the throne.
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James being dead, and the nation thus involved in hoftilities, a parliament was called, in which the prefbyterian members exceeded in number thofe of the eftablihed church. They foon difcovered their ftrength. On this their defigns broke violently forth, and they immediately began to carry their feditious intentions into action. With this view they refolved not to fettle the revenues of tonnage and poundage on the king, beyond a year; and refufed to grant fuch fupplies as were adequate to the fupporting of that war which they had, in fact, begun. In this dilemma, to which they had reduced their fovereign, they poured complaints of grievances, and made no provifion for the civil lift, nor for fuftaining the war. The king perceiving their defigns, and that nothing but feditious purpofes were intended, diffolved the parliament; and, by his fole authority, ordered his officers to continue in collecting the duties which had been ufually fettled on his predeceffors. Another parliament was called, in the following year, and this, procceding in a like manner, it was ditfolved, as the former had been, and for like reafons. A third parliament was again called, and filled with the fame men, or others of fimilar principles. They greedily feized on the king's raifing money by his own authority, as illegal and arbitrary, although by their premeditated refufal of fupplies, he had been compelled to it; and that it was not unprecedented. On this event, they formed a petition to the king, which contained fuch articles as were realonably to be afked, and which could not be refuted without difpleafing the people. Thefe were, that no loan or tax might be levied without confent of parliament ; that no man might be imprifoned but by legal procets; and a frew h the thofe vered slentcarry this des of year ; quate d, in $y$ had laints c civil
per-fedie paris ofwhich Anoyear, as dite rea, and prinaifing arbifal of that it they tained , and ng the ht be 0 man and a few

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few others. To thefe the king anfwered, "I will, that right be done, according to the laws and cuftoms of the realm." But this was received as inadequate to what they expected. They again petitioned for a more latisfactory anfwer. His majefty then gave his full affent, according to the ufual form in parliament: but their fyltem was, never to be fatisfied with any return to what they afked, and confequently they refolved on prefenting a remonftrance againtt the king's having rereived tonnage and poundage. This defign being known, his majefty came to the houfe, pafied the acts, which confirmed the rights and liberties, for which they petitioned, together with fome others, and then prorogued the parliament.

It affembled again in the fame year. The commons immediately began on the late fubject, of the illegality of tonnage and poundage. The king informed them, in his fpeech, that he did not claim: it of right, but de bene effe; or, for the public welfare; and defired it might be fettled on him, as it had been on his anceftors. No attention was paid to this requeft. They not only continued the complaints on the grievances of adminiftration, but now no longer talked of liberty of confcience, to ferve God in their own way; but erected th mfelves into an inquifition; enquired into, and condemned that liberty in others, who were equally entided to it with themfelves; and debated concerning the increafe of Arminianifm and popery. Pym, alfo, moved in the houfe, that they fhould engage in a covenant to maintain their rights and religion. They then refolved to proceed on affairs relative to religion, before thev entered on the confideration of the tonnage and poundage. And Cromwel $\mathrm{U}_{2}$ informed
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informed the houle, that popery was countenanced by the bifhop of Winchefter.

The fpeaker of the commons, being called upon by the houle, to read a remonitrance, he refufed to comply with it; when endeavouring to leave the chair, he was held in it by force, the doors were locked, and the fubfequent proteftation was read. "That whoever fhould bring in innovations in religion, or leek to introduce popery or Arminianifm, fhould be accounted enemies to the kingdom." It feems difficult to decide, whether the effrontery of this proteftation be greater, in their interdicting innovations in religion, who were then labouring to innovate, by eftablifhing calvinifm in the place of the church of England; or in denying that liberty of confieience to others, which they themfelves afferted was the right of all mankind. On this, the king diffolved the parliament.

The fpirit of intolerance increafed amongt thofe prefbyterians, exactly with their powers of carrying it into execution. Every thing was popery that remained, either in form of worlhip or of prayer. The mitre, the furplice, a burning taper, a piece of painted glafs, were deadly fins and remnants of idolatry. All were to be abolifhed, as odious to God, in order to effect a godly thorough reformation. At the fame time, they converted the very effence of chriftianity to the mott infernal purpofes. They prefumed to feek the lord in prayer, to grant them fuch things as no being but the devil could hear, without horror. They rofe from their knees, afferting it was obiained. They applied the wrathful texts of the jewifh theocracy, pronounced againit idolaters, to the church eftablifhed, and converted Chrift himfelf to become an inftrument
ftrument of their impious defigns, by calling him their king Jefus. All this they afferted to be undertaken in fupport of that gofpel, which teaches charity to all mankind, and even forgivenefs to our enemies. No falfehood was too flagrant for their affirmation; no deec ooo cruel for their undertaking, provided the tendency of them were to promote their abominable purpofes. Two things there were, befides the levying of tonnage and poundage, that afforded too much caufe for their feeking the abolition of them. Thefe were the courts of high commiffion, and Star-chamber.

During this time, the Scotch prefbyterians were equally engaged in like rebellious tranfactions. They entered into a folemn league and covenant againft the epifcopal church, eftablifhed in Scotland, and to erect calvinifm. In 1640 , the parliament met, and immediately returned to their late grievances in religious and temporal affairs. It is again diffolved; but the fuppreffion of the Scottifh rebellion requiring fupplies, which could not be raifed without a parliament, another was called in the fame year. On the 3d of November, began the feffion of that parliament, which, before its diffolution, entirely fubverted the conftitution, in church and ftate; and exercifed fuch unremitting tyranny, and acts of barbarifm, as were even a dilgrace to rebellion. All this was done for confcience fake, for the liberty of worthipping God in their own way, and for eftablifhing the throne of king Jefus.

The fame grievances were again urged by the commons. Pym carried up an impeachment againft the earl of Strafford. He is committed to the cuftody of the black rod. Pennington, a prefbyterian alderman of the city of London, followed

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by a tumultuous populace, carried a petition, as from the city, againft the difcipline and ceremonies of the church; and foon after, with a like riotous atterdance, he prefents another for the abolition of epifcopacy. The commons then refolved that the convocation had no right to make cannons; that the fubfidies which they granted were illegal; and framed a bill for fining all that fat in that affembly. And yet, all thefe rights exifted in the clergy, long before the houfe of commons had a being, and had uniformly continued to make a part of the conflitution of England to that day. Never were impudence, fallehood, and hypocrify, fo perfectly combined as in the fanatic commons of thofe days. Archbifop Lac.! was now impeached of high treafon, by Danzel Hollis, taken into the cuftody of the black rod, and, foon after committed to the tower. And in this manner, the earl of Strafford, and this prelate, the chief fupporters of the church and ftate, and of greateft abilities and refolution, were taken from the king, and imprifoned.

A bill for triennial parliaments was, at that time, the fubject of great clamour by the prefbyterians, as it is at prefenc. That bill then meant only that the king hould not difcostinue a meeting of parliament more than three years. This act was paffed. The commons, with thanks to his majefty, declared, that nothing now remained, but to reftify their devotion to him, and to make him a glorious king. We fhall foon fee of what ftuff their devotion was compoled, and the means they purfued to make their fovereign glorious.

One act of their devotion was to refolve, that no bihop foould have a vote in parliament. Another was to keep the Scotch army in pay; and to borrow money
money of the city of London on the fubfidies, which was an act equally arbitrary and illegal with that of the king's levying tonnage and poundage by his own authority. There was now an unroubred rebellion in the kingdom: in fact, it had already long fubfifted. But the king fatally deferred to arn, and to defeat it. The articles of impeachment againft lord Strafford were unequal to the accufation, for it all of them could have been proved, they could amount to nothing like high treafon. They therefore defpifed the regular proceedings of juftice, proceeded by bill of attainder, and framed a law exprefsly made to put him to death, guildefs of the charge; which, on that account, was as equally a murder, as if the fame prefbyterians had affaflinated him in the ftreet.

Notwithftanding this parliamentary outrage ont the conftitution, thefe fanatics, "whom no king can govern, and no God can pleafe," headed by one Cornelius Burgefs, followed by a mob, came riotoully to the houfe of commons, exclaiming, juftice, juftice, againt the earl of Strafford. For murder was juftice, in the opinion of a prefbyterian teacher, at that cime, as it appears to be in that of Prieftley in the prefent. 'They infulted the king, and when the juftices of the peace attempted to commit the moft audacious of them to prifon, the commons interpofed, and committed the juftices, for acting in defence of their fovereign and the laws, againft his rebellious fubjects. In this way, they proved themfelves to be at his devotion, and making him a glorious king.

The day was now arrived, fraught with ruin to the conftitution. The king, on fatal and imprudent deed! figned the paper that appointed the commiffion, by which the bill of lord Strafford's
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attainder was paffed in the houfe of lords, and another, that the parliament fhould not be diffolved without the confent of the commons. Such was the iffue of obtaining a triennial parliament. By thefe acts, he, in fact, fubfcribed his own death warrant; and the hand that figned thefe papers, I had almoft faid, deferved to have that head, which belonged to it, taken from its fhoulders by an axe.

And now it was vifible, that thofe prelbyterian commons, thofe friends of the people, theie pro-. tectors of their rights and liberties, had not only prevailed on the king torenounce his lawful right of proroguing and diffolving parliament; but that they had robbed their fellow-fubjects alfo of their right of a general election, and of being reprefented by any other than that which was then fitting. For this parliament never diffolved itfelf, until the reitoration of Charles the fecond. May this precedent, fo fatal, fo fanguinary, and deftructive, prevent both the fovereign to yield to any application from fectarian fubjects, and the people from abetting their machinations. For it is as certain, that the king fhall fuffer, by indulging their petitions, and the people be deprived of their rights and liberties, by men of fuch principles, as that the fun thall rife to-morrow. And believe me, although at the day of judgment they fuffer for their transgreffions, yet, neither wifdom, nor chriftan patience ought to remit to that day of doom the punifnment which they fo truly merit.
The king then paffed abill, by which he renounced all right of levying tonnage and poundage, by: his prerogative, or on any merchandife whatfoever; another to annihilate the courts of high commiffion, and of the Star-chamber; and one alfo of pacification between England and Scotland, by which

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which the demands of all the prefbyterian Scots were granted. Here every purfuit of the houfe of commons ought to have terminated. The levying of money, by prerogative-royal, the courts of high commiffion, and Star-chamber, were abolifhed; and liberty of confcience was no longer oppofed. But thefe envenomed fectaries refolved to proceed until the whole conftitution of the fate were perfectly demolifhed. Every conceffion of the king was a fref incentive for procceding to new demands. And in this manner it will eternally refult, when fovereigns yield to the petitions of men who are, by principle, implacable, but with the death of that man who Shall give credit to their hypocritical applications, and yield his affent to their infidious undertakings.

Every moment expedited the ruin of the king, in which no man was more inftrumental than himfelf. He confented to the abolition of epifcopacy in Scotland. He difmiffed colonel Lunsford from the lieutenancy of the tower, on the application of the commons, that they could not confide in him; and fir John Byron was placed in his stead. Twelve of the bifhops protefted againtt all acts paffed in parliament fince they were withheld from fitting in the houfe of lords. They were comm ed by the parliament to the tower, as guilty of high sreafon.

The treafonable correfpondence being difcovered, between the prefbyterian commons and the Scots, the king ordered Kimbleton, Pym, Hampden, Hollis, Hanerig and Stroud to be apprehended. The commons refolved to tand on their defence. The king demanded the members abovenamed in their houfe. They were abfent. The commons voted that demand to be a breach of privilege, and the city mob was raifed to protect them.

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At this tinne, his majerty and the royal family being expofed to great danger, tetired to Hampion-Court.

The prefoyterian Theriffs of London, accompanied with the train cands, and the populace, in arms, carried back the demanded members in triumph to Weftminiter; whilft the feamen and watermen, in beats, equipped with fiekd-pieces, proceeded, from London Bridge to the fame place. They were thanked wy the commons and promifed an ordinatice for their indemmity.

Nothing is fo fatal to a fovereign as temporizing with rebels. It was now difcerned how erroneouly the king had condueted himielf, in fuffering thele prefbyterian futjects of King Jefus to proceed in violating the conititution, aflifted by his own affent. Whilft they were openly difregarding all legal obligation, and preparing to dieftroy him by arms, his majefty imprudently conceiving that fuch implacable demanders were to oe fatisfied by granting what they iafked, neglestcu fuch military preparations as could alone, in thofe days, and can, in the prefent, prevent the deftructive purpofes on which they always meditare; and which they will omit no probable opportunity of carrying into execution.

Sir John. Byron, not anfwering the intention of the commons, they petitioned the king to deliver up to them the tower; and to place the fortreffes and militia of the kingdom in their hands. Byron was difmiffed and Sir John Conyers made lieutenant of the Tower. Thus his majefty confented to difarm himfelf.

Charles, by commiffion, paffed the bill that -deprived the bifhops of their right of voting in parliament; and incapacicated the clergy from exercifing any jurifdiction in temporal concerns.

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The king, refuing to put the militia iato the hands of the commons, they immediately arfumed that power. They demanded the difmiffon of his minitters, as, evil counfeliors, and even to have the prince in their cuftody. They refolved to put the mation in a ftate of defence, that the lords lieutenant fhould bring to the haufe their commiffions, and cancel them as illegal. And that the admiral thould prepare a fleer, and proceed to fea in their fervice. The king fat up his ftandard, and prepared for defeating thole rebels, by the power of arms, which he had too long and too facally neglected whilf they were haftening to that means of deftroying him.

During the preceding part of this reign, but three Roman catholio perfons had fuffered death, for being of that prielthood. The prifons were, indeed, thronged with perfons of that religion, both eccleffaftics and laytnen; but, with the increafe of power among the prefbyterian commons, the firit of perfecution proceeded with equal fteps. The cath, alic priefts were now to be braught to the gallows, for exercifing their right of ferving God in their own way. Goodman, a prieft, was condemned to die. The king, in mercy, applied to the commons to fave his life, and be fatisfied with his being imprifoned or banifhed. The lords and commons confered and joined in a petition to the king, that Gootman be executed, at a the laws put in execution againit all priefts, and jefuits. Blood alone can fatisfy the tender confcience of a prefbyterian. His majefty, however, did not conlent to Goodman's death. He died in Newgate, among felons. The king refolved to commit no morefuch cruelties; and refufed to fign the warrants of feven priefts, condemned at one time to death, at $\mathbf{X} 2$ the
the Old-Bailey. The prefbyterians then, feeing it in vain to feek the fanction of the royal name to countenance their perfecuting refolves, affumed the full power of life and death; and a number of men, whofe whole crimes were being priffts, were executed with all the feverity of that inhuman fentence, which condemns to be hanged, cut down alive, emboweled, and hearts to be thrown into the flames. Such was the tendernefs of the prefbyterian commons, who were at that inftant roaring againft the Roman catholic periecutions in the reign of bloody Mary. This mercy, conftantly, unpardonable in a king, that is not their favourer, was publifhed through the realm, as a proof of his majeft's's being a bloody papift, and of their being the true friends of Chrift's gofpel. Their perfecuting fpirit, for confcience fake, was to exercifed in 1641, that they executed two priefts, and fentenced feveral others to death. This had a double effect. It withheld the merciful difpofition of the king from urging the Roman catiolics to join his ftandard, through apprehenfion, that all of that religion would thereby fuffer, who might fall into the hands of the rebels. And the catholics were fo intimidated by thefe fanguinary proceedings of the preflyterians, that, feeing there remained $i=$ nther method to preferve themielves and their effects, tome fe: of them oppofed the king, whom they liked, and afifited the prefbyterians, whom they had reafon to detef. In the religion of fuch catholics, rebellion effaced the fin of idolatry. For, in fact, it was loyalty to their fovereign, that was the fole caufe of all the fanatic lies, groundlefs charges, and barbarous punifhments, which were urged againf all men of the church of England, and Ronian catholics.
catholics. And to promote that malignancy, the caufe of Jefus was fet up againtt their lawful king.

The parliament now voted, that whoever fhould raife forces for their fovereign, were to be deemed trairors. And they publifhed a remonftrance, declaring, that the fupreme leginative authority was in the two houfes : and that the king had no right of withholding his affent from the acts they pafled. They now committed the very crime, from which their rebellion had originated, and iffued an ordinance, by their fole authority, for levying tonnage and poundage. They paffed another ordinance alfo for affeffing, through the kingdom, a weekly tax of 34,808 l. For the maintenance of their forces againft their fovereign: which, they impudently afferted to have been raifed for his prefervation.

The prifoners, taken at Brentford, being releafed by the king, on having fworn not to take arms any more againt him, Downing and MarThal, two prefbyterian teachers, who had been conftantly roaring againft the pope, as the idolatrous whore of Babylon, affumed that very power which they had fo vehemently execrated; and abfolved all thofe releafed prifoners from their oaths, who, again, engaged in the rebel army, through pure tendernefs of confcience.

The church of England was now demolifhed. An affembly of prefbyterian teachers was conftituted to fettle the national religion, on the calviniftical principles, doctrines and difcipline; and the two houles, and the city of London, united with the Scots, in taking the folemn league and covenant.

The presbyterian, being now the eftablifhed church, by ordinances of rebellion, their teachers laboured to erect a government therein, which was

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of articles, thefe that follow are to te feen. That whoever hall affirm, that the Godhead and manhood of Chritt are not diftinct natures; that the death of Chrift is not meritorious; that the fcriptures are not the word of God; that Chrift is not rifen; that there is no refarrection, ar a future judgment; thall fuffer death; as in cases of felony. And then, that whofoever fays, that all men thall be faved; that man, by nature, hath free-wili to surn to God; that man is bound to believe no more than by his reation be can comprehend; that the baptifm of infants is unlawful; Shall be conimitted to prifon, tiil they can find fecurity, that he would not either maintain or publifh fuch errors. Such was the luft of eftablifhing abfolute dominion, by what was then called the legifature. Ey this ordinance, the churchmen of England, Papifts, Arminiana, Antinomians, Arians, Socinians, Arabaptifts, and all other fectaries, then exifting, were doomed to perfecution.

The virulence of this prefbyterian ordinance deItroyed ihe end for which it was intended. The independents revolted from them, and became their malters. They were univerfally detefted by all men of every other religion, or fect, for their attempting to eitablifh this tyranny on confcience. And this deteftation alone induced them to affume the affectation of tenderaeds for the king's life, when they faw their tyrannical fyitem difappointed by the independents. Thefe were the bleffed feekers of the -Lord, who erranfported themfelves to Bofton, in which place they purfued the dietates of the fame perfecuting pirit, and put to death thofe who dared to diffent from them. lin fuch principles they have perfevered, and fuch they are now exerciinng
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erciing againft the lawful authority of their fovereign and his parliament.

Pyni, nicknamed king, by the mob, perifhed by the louify evil. Thus perih all fuch rebels to their king.

Archbifhop Laud, being deemed by the lords to be not guilty of high-treafon, the prefbyterian commons commanded him before them; and without hearing any evidence, fave that which was repeated by their counfel, they attainted him of high treafon, for which he was beheaded. And now the courts of high commiffion and Star-chamber, abolifhed in name, exifted in reality. The firft, in the Calviniftical church government; the fecond in the houfe of commons: and thus the legilative power, and that of executing the laws, were united in the fame inhuman beings.

And now, that abominable hypocrify, hitherto inferted by order of the parliament, in commifions to their generals, to preferve kis majeffy's perfon, was omitted in that to Fairfax.

I purpofely decline from all defription of thofe calamities which attended this infernal rebellion, in which fathers were flain by fons, and fons by fathers; in which all ties, parental and filial, by confanguinity and marriage, of friend, of religion, and of humanity itfelf, were totally annihilated. Defolation, rapine and naughter, were let loofe to ravage; and every horrible act that fanaticifm could devife, was perpetrated, with all imaginable fury.

At this time, the commons refolve, under God, that the people were the original of all juft power. That the commons, in patilianent, had the fupreme authority of the nation, without king or houfe of peers. Thus, as the commons were eftablifhed
tablifhed to all eternity, unlefs diffolved by force, or by their own conient, every right in the conftituents of electing a new parliament was extirpated; together with thole of the king and peerage; and the goverment was become an oligarchy.
The king, driven to diftreis, repaired to the Scotch prefbyterian army, in fearch of an afylum. Thefe loyal fubjects fold him to his Linglifh rebels, for 400,0001 .

The Englifh prefbyterians, in refentment to the independents, for ftripping them of power, now affected a tendernefs for the king's life. Cromwel, confcious of the true motive, ridiculed their hypocrify. His majefty was then brought before a felfcreated high court of juftice; he difavowed their authority; was arraigned and fentenced to be be.. headed, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public robber, and then they murdered him, at Whitehall, on the 3oth of January, 1648 .

Hence it may be feen, by w!:at fatal progreffion, from the pretence of feeking the liberty of ferving God in their own way; from tendernefs of confcience; from oppofing fome few acts of extended prerogative, together with abolifhing of the courts of high commiffion and far-chamber, eftablifhed by law, and annulled by the king's confent; that virtuous motives never actuated the hypocritic bofoms of thole infidious fanatics. Every thing conceded was an incentive to more arrogant demands. By his remiffnefs mature15: to prepare, by force to fubdue their rebellious intentions, the rights of fovereign and of fubject were alike demolifhed, and the kingdom was covered with human blood, and with oligarchic defpotifm.

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God preferve his majefty ; and may the people fay, Amein.

The commons now refolved, that a king, or the power thereof, in one perion, was unneceflary, burthenfome, and dangerous, and therefore to be abolifhed: and an act was paffed in both houfes, by which fuch abolition was confirmed.
Things being thus far advanced, Cromwel entered the houfe of commons, with a file of mufqueteers; commanded the fpeaker to quit the chair; told them, they had fat long enough, unlefs they had done more good; and that they were no longer a parliament. He told Harry Vare, that he was a juggler; Henry Martin, and Peter Wentworth, that they were whore-mongers; Tom Challoner, a drunkard; and Allen, a public cheat. And ordered a common foldier to take away the mace, that fool's bauble. Harrifon then pulled the fpeaker from the chair: which being done, and all of them kicked out, Cromwel locked the doors, and in the afternoon, difmiffed the council of ftate, which had been appointed foon after the royal murder.

Oliver, with his councilof officers, now affumed the fupreme authority of the kingdom and diffolved the parliament by their declaration. He then iffued his orders, nominated and convened about one hundred and twenty perfons, who met him at Whitehall. He then told them, they had a clear call to undertake the fupreme authority of the commonwealth. And then, by an inftrument, under his own hand, with the advice of his officers, he comnitted the fupreme authority to that 120 men, July the $4^{\text {th }}$, 1653. They were to fit no longer than till the 3 d of November, 1654 . And three months before the expiration of their feffion, they were to felect
an equal number of others to fucceed them; whofe duration was not to exceed a year. He then, by way of fpiritual compliment, affured them, he had not made choice of one perfon, in whom he had not the good hope that he had faith in Jefus Chrift, and love to all faints. Which faints were thofe who had fpread defolation and bloodfhed in the caufe of rebellion and murdered their fovereign.

This affembly refolved, that no perfon fhould be admitted to any place or office in the government, unlefs the parliament, as they called themfelves, were fatisfied of his real goodnefs. Thefe 120 elect of Cromwel were, in derifion, fometimes called the godly parliament; at others, Praifegod Barebone's parliament. That honourable member was a feller of leather, a fpeaker of fpeeches; and no lefs formidable than the unmerciful Tommy Townfhend. It was the opinion of thefe felect men, that Chrift would foon defcend to reign in England. And, in order to purge the kingdom of iniquity, and prepare the way for him, they propofed to extirpate all parfons and lawyers; to abrogate all laws, and badges of flavery; to fupprefs all fchools and univerfitits, as heathenif inventions; together with all titles of honour and diftinctions among men: and they actually proceeded to abolifh the courts of chancery. And now, may it not be faid, that thefe fanatics had made a thorough reformation, whatever might become of its godlinefs?

This parliament of Praife-God Barebones, confifted of fuch fools, intentionally felected, to anfwer Cromwel's purpofes. About five months after they began to fit, they had rendered themfelves fo confummately ridiculous, that Oliver now thought he might fafely proceed in his afcendancy tofupreme
power. Accordingly, it was moved in the houfe, that the welfare of the commonwealth required they fhould fit no longer: and that it was fit they fhould refign their power to the Lord General. On this motion, the jpeaker, with many of the members, repaired to Whicehall: and, by a written infrumenr, refigned their power into the hands of Cromwel. Some of the members ftill remained with Barebones in the houfe. Cromwel never did things by halves, or with hefitation. He immediately fent Wbite, an officer, with foldiers, to the houfe of commens, which having entered, they demanded to what intent they were fitting there. To feek the Lord, was the anfwer. Pifh, replied White, the Lord has not been within thefe walls thefe twelve months: and then turned them all out.

Lambert, and the council of officers alfo, refigned their pretenfions to power, and declared, that the government of the commonwealth fhould refide in a fingle perfon; and that Oliver Cromwel fhould be that perfon, with the utle of Lord Protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and all the other dominions thereunto belonging.

Cromwel was now fole fovereign of three powerful kingdoms, without either lords or commons, to incommode his undertakings. Suich was the refult of feeking the Lord to murder their king, and of liberty of confcience to fubvert the conftitution. Oliver was a man formed by nature to apply the principles of thofe implacable fectaries, to perpetrating the deeds of that fanguinary æra. He loft not his time in Tpeculative defigns, which moft frequently prove abortive; but caught occafious as they rofe, dared to be equal to what they offered, and probably attained to that amazing de-
gree of fovereignty, becaufe he difcerned not to what height he was afcending before he reached the fummit. Few men of exalted virtue have, at any time, been capable of great refolution. There have been, indeed, numbers of them poffeffed of paffive fertitude to a furprifing excefs. Thoufands with the utmoft firmnefs, have died martyrs to religion, for one who, by active virtue, has dared to fave his country, withour being animated by the interefted ambition of acquiring dominion for himfelf. Sovereigns that would imitate Oliver in every thing but his crimes, and add that vigour to deeds of righteoufnefs, which he imparted to thofe of iniquity, would be the bleffing of their people, and the admiration of the world. Subjects expect a firm and active adminiftration in their king. And, although the current of his reign may flow in one continued fream of tranquility and fmoothnefs, even the uniformity of that happinefs too frequently difpleafes. Love of fovereigns is but a feeble paffion in their fubjects. If they be not taught to fear and feel for their tranfgreffion, the popular influence becomes exuberant ; tumults, fedition, and even rebellion ittelf, fhall attempt and fometimes fucceed in dethroning a virtuous prince, who adds not a vigorous exertion of authority to a proper mode of im. parting beneficence.

Oliver, who was now abfolute, was, neverthelefs, too well inftructed in the nature of mankind, and the principles of fanaticilin, which, at that time, difgraced the human race, to exert a fovereignty without offering an oftenfible object, of uniting others in the fupreme legiflative power. Attended, therefore, with a Atrong guard, accompanied with the great officers of ftate, the lord-


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Cromwel and his council, by an ordinance; united England and Scotland in one commonwealth and one government. The parliament meeting, and entering into difputes, relative to their right of affembling, and of the inftrument which conveyed the antecedent powers to the Protector, Oliver came to the painted chamber, fent for the members, reprehended them for their infolence, placed a guard at the door of the houfe of commons, and fuffered none to enter who would not fublcribe to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector: and that he would neither propofe nor confent to alter the government, as it was fettled in one perfon, and a parliament. Three hundred of them fubfrcibed this recognition, in a few days; and Harrifon, who refufed it, was taken into cultody by a party of horfe. The houfe, however, perfifted in debating on the preceding fubjects; but voted Cromwel Protector for life. When this parliament, not correfponding perfectly with the views of Cromwel, he diffolved them, after a feffion of five months.

If this act of Oliver be compared with that of Charles, when he went to the houfe of commons and demanded feven rebellious members, it will appear, that the king required that to be done to which he had not the means of enforcing an obedience; expofed his weaknefs, and invigorated the oppo-i fition of his enemies. Cromwel, prepared with force, dared with firmnefs, intimidated his opponents, accomplifhed his defign, and fecured that fovereignty, which can never be effectually maintained, but by the application of fuch power, in proportion as the circumftances of things may occafionally require it. He knew that to trutt to a war of words, in St. Stephen's chapel, would be to be undone.
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undone. He and the council now fuppreffed the publication of news-papers, without leave of the fecretary of itate, as well as of all books and pamphlets unlicenfed. Thus the liberty of the prefs was fent to the devil, after all the ocher liberties which the tectaries had difpatched before it.

Oliver convened a new parliament, from the three kingdoms to meet at Weftminfter; but he fuffered no member to enter the houle who had not been approved by his council, and had obtained a certificate of approbation from them. Pack, an independent alderman of London, propofed, in the houfe, to inveft Cromwel with the title of king; and it was carried by a majority, that the crown fhould be offered him. But the officers of the army oppofing with menaces the accepting of that title, Cromwel, who knew when to perfevere, and when to relax, as the power of arms was with or againft him, with prudence and hypocrify, declared, he could not, with a good coricience, accept the government under the titie of king. He was not fo bigotted as to rifque his fovereignty for a name, or to lofe three kingdoms for a mafs, like James the fecond. His powers of protector were enlarged. They authorized him to appoint his fucceffor, and fixed his annual revenue at $1,300,000$. At this time a new houfe of peers was created. Cromwel met them and began his fpeech, my lords, and you the knights, citizens, \&cc. The commons re-admited their excluded members, inveighed againft the conftituting of a houfe of peers, and difputeed the protector's authority to convene them. My lord Hewion, the cobler, and my lord Pride, the drayman, were peers of this right honourable houfe. Cromwel, in this houle refolved to fupport thofe lords he had made, and diffolved the par-
parliament. And there ended every proceeding relative to fuch affemblies, during Oliver's life. The protector died the next year; and it mult be an injuftice not to confels, that, whilft Oliver alone poffefied and exerciled the fupreme authority, the nation was revered by all the potentates of Europe.

Richard Cromwel was now proclaimed protector; but was foon depofed. The members of the long parliament returned, to the number of fortyone. Thofe who had been excluded, in 1648 , were not admitted. Thefe forty-one publifhed a declaration, that they would act without a protector or houfe of peers, affumed the ftyle of ketpers of the liberties of England, and iffued all writs, patents, \&c. in their names. This fag-end of the commons, was, in derifion, called the rump. The army demanded a general, and thare in the government. The parliament difmiffed Lambert, Defborough, and others. The foldiers mutinyed. Lambert met the feaker going to the houte, turned him back, and the rump was again difperfed.

It was the army that now aflumed the fupreme power, and chofe Fleetwood their general. They conftituted twenty-three men, of whom the greateft part were general officers; and indued them with the care of government under the name of a committee of fafety. The committee of fafery now, in their turn, yielded to the rump, which again refumed the government. They appointed a council of flate. Monk arrived, the fecluded members met him at Whitehall, and voted him general of all the forces of the three kingdoms. The act alfo was now paffed, which diffolved that houfe of commons, that for 19 years had proved fo fatal to the liberties of this nation. A council of fate then af.
funced the government of the realm; and Charles the fecond was reftored.

Whoever thall attentively confider the principles of thele fanatic rebels, will certainly difeern that, in civil and religious tenets, they neceffarily lead to the deftruction of all the conftitutional rights of this kingdom, and the erecting of defpotifin over our fouls and bodies. It is ablolutely indifputable, that liberty, both civil and religious, were bus mere words, by which the people were conftantly mined to the deflruction of their own happinets; and that ie reali:y of obtaining thofe bleffings did, not at any time, enter the imaginations of their feductive enflavers, or once appear in their tranfactions. During this term of nineteen years, oppreffion and cruelty difcriminated all their parliamentary ordinances, and actions, under various modes of tyranny. Ift. The two houfes, without a king and bifhops. 2d. An eternal houfe of commons, or oligarchy, withour the lords. $3^{\text {d. Crom- }}$ wel and a council of officers. 4th. A protector and one hundred and twenty men, nominated and convened by his orders. 5 th. A protector alone. 6th. A protector, and a houfe of commons, confifting of members only which he approved. 7th. A protector and a parliament of new-made lords and commons. 8th: Richard Cromwel, protector, with a parliament. gth. Rump parliament. Ioth. Keepers of the liberties of England. inth. Lambert and the army. 12 th. 'The rump again. 13th. A council of State.

At length, after multiplied oppreffions and aggravated cruelties had been relentlefsly exercifed under this eternal revolution of ablurd forms, and anarchical tyranny; after the devaftation of the realm, by faughter, rapine, and fanatic fury, had their calamities but by recurning to that very form of government, which they had deftroyed. Charles the fecond and the conftitution were rellored together; an event which, although at prefent it be affeciedly treated with neglect, is undoubiedly equal in national advantages to the revolution. Unleis the re-rftablifhment of the conftitution, which was ablolurely fubverted, be a lefs felicity than that event which prevented its demolition.

During the reign of Charles the fecond, the fame prefbyterian tpirit of perfecution, democracy, and king-killing prevailed. Popery and 隠ery were conftantly united in their mouths, which never exifted in the realm. Pielbyterianifin and liberty were, in like manner, conjoined, thar never dwelt together And, under the name of proteftants, they infidioully connefted themfelves with the church of England, againtt which they as really protetted as againft the papal. Thefe gave pretext $t:$ all their iniquitous intentions. In confequence of this relentlefs prefbyterian fpirit, the prince of Orange, lord Shaftefbury, Ruffel, Sydncy, and others, entered into a confederacy with Titus Oates, Bedloe; and fuch perjurers, to forge a plor, which was, to accufe the Roman catholics of confipiring the death of the king. The fulleft difproof of what they fwore was of no avail: and a number of innocent men ware facrificed on the infernal altar of prefbyterian perfidy, in whofe religion regicides aione are faints. This forgery not anfwering their defigh, che fame perfons, with Fergufon, Rumbold, and others, all prefbyterians, refolved on the affafination of the king, at the Rye-houle on his return from Newmarker. An event, totally

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unforefeen, prevented that intended murder from being carried into execution.

James the fecond, that injudicious bigot, intending to abrogate the teft-act, and alike admit papitts, prefbyterians, and all others of the fectarian tribes, into all offices, both civil and military, the presbyterians became his faft friends, and avowed abettors of his defigns on the conftitution. They received this gracious offer with the molt profound profefsions of loyalty to his perfon, and with the greateft gratitude for his goodnels. In their addreses, thanks and paile were accompanied with virulent fuggeftions of what they had fuffered from the chuich of England. In thefe they denominated the Roman catholics, their brethren and fellow fufferers for conicience fake. " Lob, whom Burnet calls, an eminent man among the diffenters, was entirely gained to the court, and advifed the king to fend the bihops to the tower." He was the Father Petre of the fanatics. At the fame time, "the popith nobility, and almoll all of every degree, preffed the king earneftiy to let the thing fall." Sunderland, the new and occafional convert, for one reafon; and Petre, the Jefuit, for another, were not among the difcreter Catholics. At the fame time, the archbimop of Canterbury, with lix of his fuffragan prelates; the univerfities of Oxford and Cambridge; the ecciefiatics of the church of Eng. land, and the Tories, by open and honef mean!, oppofed the king's defpetic defigns; whilt the Whigs, by fecret intrigues, invited the prince os: Orange into this kingtom.

The revolution was thereby effected. And yet, thefe fectatian crews are at this day meft audaciouly alluming a degree of merit, for effectuating that very revciution

ecrate, becaufe their own iniquities and rebellious actions have rendered it imprasticable for them to be difcontinued, without the danger of permitting them to effectuate their rebellious purpofes.

No tooner was his prefent majefty enthroned, than their teachers, either becaufe the annual fum which by his grandfather had been given among them, was diminifhed, or no longer paid, began to feel their confciences again grow tender. God, like the Diana of the Ephefians, was now once more to be ferved in their own way; becaufe, by that craft, they had their wealth. They then recurned to their old rebellious practices. The king was traduced with lels caufe, and more enormity, than ever fovereign had known before. Popery was again afferted to be coming in. The articles of the church oi England grew offenfive, and application to parliament was made to have them altered. Tythes were Jewifh, popifh, and to be abolifhed; and the teft-act to be repealed. All thefe were leditious clamours, excited for reafons fimilar to the preceding in their rebellion aguintt Charles the firit; and clamours only they can be juftly deemed: for of what avail is the facramental tett to keep thefe men from honours, pofts, and places? on fuch occafions, were the bread as large as Si. Paul's cachedral, and did the cup contain as much wine as the great tun at Heidelberg, they would fwallow every grain and drop without hefitation or a wry face. At the fame time, although the oath of allegiance has been taken in the morning, they will declaim againt the lawful power of their fovereign before night; and with the facrament, yet within them, execrate that very church to which they had fo folemnly conformed. Decide then, my fellow
countrymen, of the church of England, whether, from the hands of Roman catholics, or of prefbyterians, your deftruction be mot likely to proceed. Reflect on the rebellious acts of the Boftonian fanatics, who would mpofe on you alone the taxes to fupport the ftate; admire and applaud the wifdom and the juftice of parliament in begining a reformation of the catholic church in Canada, by a truly chriftian indulgence of religious liberty; and in extending the loyal fubjects of Quebec behind thefe reftefs hypocrites. Senfible of their happinefs beneath his majefty, they will be ready to employtheir.arms to quell tebellion, whilt the prefbyrerian race, who, by lying calumnies, ever traduce their fovereign, would terrify you with the coming in of popery: and navery; feduce you from allegiance, and incite you to arms. Yet fuch is the indifputable fact, that, during the fourteen years in which his majefty hath reigned over us, neither this kingdom, nor any other ever enjoyed io continued aferies of felicity, in which not one attempt has hitherto been made to invade your property, to diminifh your rights and liberties, or to deftroy the lives and treafure of his fubjects. And to the refutation of this truth, I defy all mankind.

Believe not, therefore, that your king, who is eminently dignified with every virtue of Son, Father, Huband, Brother, Friend, whofe acts pronounce him merciful, and by whom all your complaints have been removed, as far as his authority can extend, can ever entertain an idea that may tend to leffen your felicity, or prevent its improvement.

At the fame time, be confident that the men of thefe davs, who are actuated by like principles with thofe rebellious fanatics of Charles the firft, whole

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whofe fouls are fraught with every vice, will convert religion to their inftrument of iniquity, to feduce you to rebellion, and to promote the triumph of their defpotifm. Appeal to your own fenfations, and you fhall find, that their feditious acts can mean but to delude you to their nefarious and interefted purpoles, by erecting their dominion, and eftablifhing your 解very, which their anceftors fo perfidiounly accomplifhed. Have not the Jefuits, who entertain principles lefs pernicious to government, and whofe actions bear no comparifon in iniquity with thofe fectarians, been juftly expelled from almoft all the realns of Europe? exert, therefore, my countrymen, your indignation againlt fuch infidious and deftructive villainy. Rouze from your feduction; and manfully proceed to every act of loyalty to the beft of kings; to the prefervation of your rights, liberties, conftitution and country.

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[^3]That the Public may form fomeiden of the execution of this Work, the Publither has gives an extratt of the characters given of it in the Reviews.
Fromthe Critical Review, Sept. and Off. 1773.
" TO facilitate the fludy of our national Antiquities, the author has intron duced this volume with a copious account of various pariculars relative to the ancient buildings in England, which is conpiled from the beft authorities, and digefted in a clear, comprehenfive, and methodical arrangement. From this prelimhary difcourfe the reader will not only reap much entertainment and inftruc* tion, but be prepared for the better underfianding the fubfequent part of the Work. It is therefore proper that we begin our Review with a general detail of the fubjects which are mentioned in this fenfible and interefting Preface.

The firl fubject treated of, is Cafles. Of thefe the Author oblerves, that fuch as remain are, for the moft part, of no higher antiquity than the Norman Conqueft; fur though the Saxons, Romans, and perhaps even the ancient Britons, had tafles built with flone; yet they were few in number, and, at that perion, cither fo much deftroyed or decayed, that little more than their ruins were remaining. The erection of calles appears to have kept pace with the progrefis of the feulal fyftem; but becoming foon exuremely numerous, and their owners exercifing intolerable oppreflion in their neighbourhood, it was agreed, in a treaty between king Stephen and Henry 1I. when duke of Normandy, that all the caftles built wishin a certain period fhould be demolifhed; and, in confequence of this fipulation, many are faid to have been antually razed. On Henry's acceffion to the throne feveral others were demolifhad; and a prohibition was iffiued from erecting new oncs, without an efpecial licence from the kingo

After delineating the ufual plan of the ancient caftes, the author delivers an ac* count of the various engines by which fieges were conducted in thefe times.

The fubject on which our author next enters is Monafteries. He obferves, that the æra of the firft inftitution of thefe religious houfes in England is extremely uncertain ; fome hiftorians andantiquarians fixing it foon after the Chriftian epoch; while others, with greater probability, fuppofe that event not to have taken place till fome years after the commencement of the fixth century. The date of the foundation of mumeries in this country, he obferves, is involved in the fame ob. fcurity with the origin of tic monaftic life.

Mr. Grofe recites diftinctly the progrefs of religious foundations through the feveral fubfequent reigns, to the commencement of the Reformation.

The fubject to which our author next proceeds, in his very interefting Preface, is the ancient modes of architecture in this country.

The author has further elucidated this curious fubject by 2 variety of notes. extracted from approved writers; in compiling which, Mr. Grofe difcovers himfelf to have confulted every authority from whence any information could be drawn; ant, as an additional illuatration, he has prefented his readers with engraved fpecimens of Saxon and Gothic arches, ornaments, \&c.

The Preface to this work concludes with a brief account of Domefday-book, begun by order of William the Conqueror, and containing an account of the lands in almoit all the counties of England; with a defcription of the quantity and rarticular nature of them; mentioning the rents, taxations, the feveral poffeffors, bisth their number, and diftinet degrees.

As to the Deferiptions of the feveral Ancient Buildings introduced, thofe readere who would more fully gratify their curiofity, muft have recourfe to the original, where they will fiml every article illuftrated by a perfpetive engraving, agreeably picturefque, and exhibiting lively reprefentations.
For hillorical or legendary Anecdotes we refer our Readers to the Work itfelf, where they will generally find a detail of the fucceffion through which the proa perty of the feveral ancient buildings has been conveyed, from their foundation to the prefent time. The great attention which the author appears to have beftowal on the work, and the accuracy of the pumetous plates whereby it is

Illufrated, leave no room to doubt of its meeting with the encomagement of the Public. When Mr. Grofe has completed his defign, we fhall have the fatisfaction of beholding the moft entertaining and valuable collection of the antiquities of this country, that has hitherto been made.

## From the Monthly Review, Nov. 1773.

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[^0]:    - Sydney's letter to Saville, p. 45.

[^1]:    * D'Avaux, Tom. 1. p. 32.

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